

# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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# MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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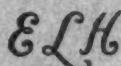
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# Modern Language Notes

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## MILTON AND THOMAS YOUNG, 1620-1628

In Milton studies since Masson it has been assumed that Thomas Young, Milton's tutor, departed for his pastoral duties in Hamburg in 1622. Recently, Arthur Barker discovered that Young "returned to England from Hamburg" at some time before 24 March 1621, and attended the commencement at Cambridge later in the same year.<sup>1</sup> Obviously we need additional light on Young's activities in Hamburg.

Whence came the idea that Young left for Germany in 1622? Masson, in a footnote of explanation, called attention to the letter to Young, dated 26 March 1625, in which Milton says that it is "more than three years" since he last wrote to his tutor.<sup>2</sup> But this is strange logic. Three years before 26 March 1625 puts us at 26 March 1622, and "more than three years" puts us probably in 1621. Milton also says: "You complain, as well you may, that the *letters* you have received from me are far *too scarce*" (my italics). Evidently before the last letter there were other letters ["literas"] which were "scarce."

The fact is that Thomas Young arrived in Hamburg in 1620. Fortunately the Church Register of the Merchant Adventurers is

<sup>1</sup> "Milton's Schoolmasters," *MLR*, xxxii (Oct. 1937), 517. The evidence lies in two letters from Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated 24 March and 7 July 1621, printed in Birch's *Court & Times of James I*, 1849, pp. 240-1, 266-7. But Barker ignores two further facts about Young given in the first letter. Young had been "beneficed near Ware" and early in 1621 "returned to his friends about Ware," having preached for a time in Hamburg "anon by dispensation" (p. 240). Moreover, Young had preached in Hamburg before Frederick V, king of Bohemia, and had received "a chain of gold with his own image upon it." The latter event doubtless occurred early in 1621. But when was Young beneficed near Ware?

<sup>2</sup> *Life*, I (rev. ed.), 72.

today part of the Hamburg *Staatsarchiv*,<sup>3</sup> and from it we can learn something of the movements of Milton's tutor. The Merchant Adventurers were granted freedom of divine service in 1611. Their first pastor, John Wing, seems to have been installed in 1612. The first entry that has come down to us is from 1616. The notices from 1616 through 1619, however, are not preserved in the original, but copied into a new book (the above-mentioned Register), which has on its title-page:

A perfect extracte: Of the former registers of the names of the Communicants of the English Church at Hamborough. Together with the baptisms and marriages. Taken the 24 of April 1620 by the appointment of William Loe D. of Divinity and pastor of the said Church.

Loe was Wing's successor in Hamburg; clearly he was there on 24 April 1620; during 1620 he also published, in Hamburg, his *Songs of Sion* and *The Merchant reall*. He apparently came over in 1618.<sup>4</sup>

The entries from 1616 through 1619 are copied into the new book in a careful round book-script; later (up to 1629) entries are in a small cursive script. After 1629 the hands are distinctly different. The Register begins with the list of communicants: first "Deputie" Richard Gore and family, second "Pastor" William Loe and family, and third "Secretary" Joseph Avery and family. Between Loe and Avery is the entry:

1620 Thomas Young. Pastor  
Rebecca Young

squeezed in, in a small cursive hand. The cursive additions in the list of baptisms begin 21 January 1621; in the list of marriages, 7 February 1621; in the list of bachelor communicants, March [no day] 1621.<sup>5</sup> It is evident that Young arrived in Hamburg between 24 April 1620 and 21 January 1621 (New Style).

<sup>3</sup> Cb viii, no. xii<sup>a</sup>, Vol. I. I am grateful to Professor Marie Schütt of the University of Hamburg for supplying me with transcripts from and information about the Register, and for graciously responding to my various inquiries. Unfortunately all documents concerning the relations of the Merchant Adventurers with the Hamburg authorities were burnt in the great fire of 1842; so this possible source of information is closed.

<sup>4</sup> So *DNB*, article on William Loe. If this is correct, it was doubtless after 8 July 1618, when he received his D. D. from Merton College.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Schütt wrote: "A handwriting expert might perhaps dis-

But we have already noted that Young returned to England from Hamburg at some time before 24 March 1621, and attended the commencement at Cambridge (3 July 1621). Perhaps our difficulty can be resolved if we consider all the cursive entries in the Register. Whether they are in Young's hand or that of the parish clerk, they constitute a fairly trustworthy check on Young's activities in Hamburg:

[1621] * Jan. 21 baptism	[* = Sunday]	Jun. 24 mar.
" 22 "		Jul. 5 com.
Feb. 7 marriage		" 22 bap.
March [no day] communion		Aug. 29 "
* May 6 bap.		" 29 mar.
" [no day] com.		Sep. 6 com.
* Aug. 5 bap.		* " 14 bap.
* Sep. 9 "		* Nov. 2 com.
* Nov. 4 "		* " 9 bap.
* Dec. 2 "		* " 30 "
" 24 "		[1624] Jan. 3 com.
[1622] * Feb. 3 "		* Feb. 15 bap.
* " 17 "		Mar. 5 com.
* Mar. 24 "		* " 7 bap.
May 3 mar.		* " 21 bap.
* " 26 bap.		* Apr. 18 bap.
* Jun. 30 com.		" 20 mar.
* Jul. 7 bap.		May 5 com.
" 25 "		* Jun. 6 bap.
Aug. 31 com.		Jul. 3 com.
* Sep. 22 bap.		* " 11 bap.
* Oct. 20 "		* Aug. 22 "
Nov. 2 com.		* " 22 mar.
Dec. 5 mar.		Sep. 4 com.
" 11 "		* " 5 bap.
* " 22 bap.		* " 19 "
[1623] Jan. 4 com.		* Oct. 3 "
* Apr. 6 bap.		* " 24 "
* " 13 "		Nov. 5 com.
May 3 com.		" 8 bap.

tinguish various hands in the entries of the following years. To me . . . they look very much alike up to 1627—except the marriage entries which sometimes seem to have been written by the newly married couples themselves." At the request of Professor Schütt, Professor Richard Salomon, a handwriting expert, examined the entries of 1626 and 1627, and found them all, the marriage entries included, by one hand.

* "	14	"	* "	28	bap.		
"	25	mar.	"	29	"		
[1625]	Jan.	1	com.	Jul.	1	com.	
	"	4	mar.		"	4	bap.
	*	9	bap.	* Aug.	20	"	
	*	23	"	Sep.	2	com.	
	"	28	"	*	24	bap.	
	Apr.	30	com.	* Oct.	15	"	
*	May	22	bap.	* Nov.	5	"	
*	"	29	"	"	29	mar.	
	Jul.	2	com.	* Dec.	31	bap.	
*	"	10	bap.	[1627]	Jan.	6	com.
*	Aug.	7	"	*	Mar.	4	"
	Sep.	3	com.		"	26	mar.
*	"	18	bap.	Apr.	24	"	
	Oct.	6	mar.	* May	13	bap.	
*	"	16	bap.	*	"	20	"
	Nov.	5	com.	* Jun.	3	"	
Dec.	31	"		"	30	com.	
[1626]	Jan.	3	mar.	Jul.	2	bap.	
	"	16	bap.	* Sep.	9	"	
*	Feb.	19	"	Nov.	3	com.	
	Mar.	4	com.	"	15	bap.	
	Apr.	10	mar.	Dec.	4	mar. [by Rutt]	
*	"	23	bap.	[1628]	Jan.	5	com.
*	May	7	com.				

On the evidence of this list alone Young had about three months free for travel between 6 May and 5 August 1621. If William Loe remained in Hamburg until Young was ready to begin permanent residence there, and if (as I conjecture) the communion administered in March and May (no day named) represents Loe's activity in Young's absence, then there was also a three months' period between 7 February and 6 May. The list ends with the note: "Memorand that from the time of Mr. Young his departure from Hamboroh to England in the yeare 1627 [Old Style?] unto the yeare 1629 this Register was neglected." But before the note, in a distinctly different hand from the other entries, we find:

1627 Mr. Richard Blackwell Dec. 4th were married by me Tho. Rutt.  
Anne Bayly

Evidently Young left Hamburg only after seeing his successor installed; and it is more than probable that he left between 5 January 1627-8, the last communion listed in the cursive hand,

and 27 March 1628, when he was presented by John Howe to the vicarages of St. Peter and St. Mary in Stowmarket.

The fact of Young's visit, or visits, to England in 1621 makes one wonder about other possible journeys. In the Register entries there are only two other gaps of comparable length. One is between 4 January and 6 April 1623; the other is between 28 January and 30 April 1625. The second is of considerable interest to students of Milton.

In the *Elegia Quarta*, addressed to Young in Hamburg, and written *Anno aetatis 18*—that is, in 1627—occur the following difficult and often-discussed lines:

Primus ego Aonios illo praeunte recessus  
 Lustrabam, & bifidi sacra vireta jugi,  
 Pieriosque haus iatices, Clioque favente,  
 Castalio sparsi laeta ter ora mero.  
 Flammeus at signum ter viderat arietis Aethon,  
 Induxitque auro lanea terga novo,  
 Bisque novo terram sparsisti Chlori senilem  
 Gramine, bisque tuas abstulit Auster opes:  
 Needum ejus lieuit mihi lumina pascere vultu,  
 Aut linguae dulces aure bibisse sonos.

[29-38]

The passage is usually translated somewhat as follows:

Under his guidance I first visited the Aonian shades and the sacred groves of the cloven hill, drank the Pierian waters, and by the favor of Clio wet my happy lips three times with Castalian wine. But flaming Aethon has three times seen the sign of the Ram and covered its fleecy back with new gold; and two times, Chloris, have you covered the old earth with new herbage; and two times has Auster swept your riches away. And not yet have my eyes been allowed to feast on his face, or my ears to drink in the sweet sounds of his voice.

The usual interpretation is: Milton was introduced to classical studies by Thomas Young,<sup>6</sup> but three vernal equinoxes, two sum-

<sup>6</sup> So in the translations of Cowper, Strutt, Masson, Moody, MacKellar, McCrea, Knapp, Skeat, and Hughes. But this is very strange, for in classical Latin it would read, "I was the first under his guidance," and we have Milton's own word (in the *Defensio Prima* and *Reason of Church Government*) for the existence of more than one private tutor. When I put the question to Professor E. K. Rand, he was kind enough to reply: "Primus ought to be translated 'I was the first under his guidance to visit Castalia,' or, possibly, 'I was his *foremost* pupil.' Surely the phrase does not mean that Young was Milton's first tutor."

mers, and two autumns have passed<sup>7</sup> since the pupil last saw his tutor.

The chronological allusions here are surprisingly definite. The fact that Milton speaks of *three* vernal equinoxes, but only *two* autumns, enables us to date the composition of the poem with considerable accuracy. Even if he meant us to take his references figuratively, the poem must have been written between March and September 1627. But if he intended them to be taken literally—as seems more than likely—the poem must have been written between 21 March (the approximate date of the vernal equinox) and 28 April (the beginning of the festival of Chloris). Milton's statement of his age at the time of composition I see no reason to doubt.<sup>8</sup>

It follows that we can likewise discover the approximate time at which Milton last saw and talked with Young.<sup>9</sup> Three vernal equinoxes and two autumns before April 1627 put us between September 1624 and 21 March 1625. We may now recall that in the Hamburg church Register there is a noticeable gap between 28 January and 30 April 1625. If the Register is to be trusted as an index to Young's activities, Young could not have been in England during the months of October or November 1624, or January 1625. December, for which there are no entries in the Register, was clearly a bad month for travelling by water; the Thames was twice frozen over in the unusually severe winter of 1620-21. The date of the reunion seems, therefore, to be narrowed to February or March 1625.

<sup>7</sup> Professor Rand (see preceding note) writes: "The date, I believe, may be made more specific. The three visits of the sun to Aries means the month of March. The festival of Flora (Chloris) was held on April 28-May 3. The south wind (Auster) steals the wealth of Flora, i. e. betokens the gathering of summer's crops in the month of September when the sirocco blows."

<sup>8</sup> It has, however, been occasionally questioned, for reasons which I shall discuss. My own conviction is based on both poetic style and internal evidence. Milton's various allusions to the peril in which Hamburg was reported can scarcely refer to any date earlier than 1626-27.

<sup>9</sup> That the allusion is to their last meeting seems clear. Nevertheless, Masson unexpectedly and inconsistently remarks: "It seems also to be conveyed (lines 33-38) that Young's tutorship of him had lasted between two and three years (*Poetical Works*, 1890), I, 262, compare *ibid.*, III, 307). In the opinion of Professor Rand such an interpretation would be "an act of torture."

This obvious inference involves, however, an additional consideration. In Milton's private correspondence there is a prose letter to Young dated 26 March 1625, which offers not the slightest suggestion of a recent reunion. On the contrary, it speaks of long separation and the miles that divide them. We have no manuscript of this letter, and it was published only once, in the last year of Milton's life. The edition was badly printed; there are seventeen lines of errata noted; Tillyard has listed others; on the very page on which this letter is printed, signature A 4 is misprinted A 7. Could the date, after all, be an error?

The following facts suggest that it is: First and least weighty, the letter was written from London, whereas Milton, who entered Christ's College 12 February 1625 (a month after the Lent Term started) and matriculated in the University 9 April (the day after the Lent Term ended), might reasonably be supposed to be in Cambridge on 26 March. Second, Milton says nothing in his letter of an event about which all London was talking and in which Young would certainly be interested: King James was dying. He had been ill since 5 March, and he died the day after the date of Milton's letter. It is a small point, but I find it incredible that Milton, writing from London to a fellow-countryman abroad, could fail to mention an event of such obvious significance. Third and, I think, most telling: Milton says not a word about going to Cambridge. He has presumably registered as a student just a month before, and is presumably returning within a month to settle down to work; but, writing to his own former tutor—whose interest in this experience would be obvious—he says nothing about it. On the contrary, although he has presumably not written to Young since 1621, he writes in a fashion which assumes Young's familiarity with his Cambridge life. "I write this in London," he concludes, . . . not, *as usual*, surrounded by books." If he had not been some time at Cambridge, and if Young did not know about his being there, the phrase "as usual" would not make sense. His last sentence is a half-promise to write again "as soon as I return to the haunts of the Muses."<sup>10</sup>

If the date of the letter is an error, what is the correct date? The second letter in the collection was written 20 May 1628, and

<sup>10</sup> Tillyard, Phyllis B. (transl.) *Milton: Private Correspondence & Academic Exercises* (1932), pp. 5-6.

Young was back in England earlier the same year. Let us remember that the first letter was written from London, at a time which often falls within the Lent Term at Cambridge. During all the years that Milton was at the University, 26 March came during vacation only in 1627, 1630, and 1632. Are we not justified in altering the date of the letter to 26 March 1627?

But we have already seen that, if we interpret Milton's allusions literally, the *Elegia Quarta* must have been composed between 21 March and 28 April 1627. Can there be any connection between the poem and the letter? As it happens, the letter explicitly promises a companion poem which, unless it is the *Elegia Quarta*, has not survived. To be sure, the letter begins: "my intention was, my dearest Master, to send you a letter carefully composed in metrical form"; and this allows of his changing his mind; but he continues: "Although my intention was . . . yet I did not feel satisfied without writing another as well ["aliud insuper"], in prose." There is nothing ambiguous about this. The poem-epistle was written; unsatisfied, Milton composed a prose-epistle to go along with it. The letter is devoid of news; like the poem it contains expressions of gratitude to Young, and apologies for not writing more frequently. There is one difference: the letter states: "I received some time ago your most welcome gift of a Hebrew Bible."<sup>11</sup>

To summarize: Young departed for Hamburg in 1620, and his influence over Milton as a child ended, consequently, when the poet was only eleven. If Milton really entered St. Paul's School in 1620—another conjecture which seems to be taking on the air of fact—then it may have been immediately after his private tutor left England. Certainly Young returned for a time in 1621; it may be that there were two separate journeys. During his subsequent absence, his pupil wrote to him at very infrequent intervals. There was apparently a letter late in 1623 or early in 1624. Young may have visited England between January and April in 1623; almost certainly he was there in February or March 1625, while Milton was entering the University. Early in 1627, I conjecture, he sent his young friend a gift of a Hebrew Bible. Milton was slow in acknowledging it, but during the vacation period,

<sup>11</sup> If this Bible can be found, the problem of the letter's date may finally be solved.

prompted anew by rumors of war near Hamburg, he composed a poem to be sent to Young. Having failed to mention the recent gift in the poem, he probably wrote a covering letter, expressing his thanks. Early in the following year, Young returned to England permanently—and the ensuing relations between him and his pupil become the subject of another series of conjectures.

WILLIAM R. PARKER

*The Ohio State University*

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### BORROWINGS IN GRANGE'S "GOLDEN APHRODITIS"

In a recent article on John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis* (1577),<sup>1</sup> it was pointed out among other things that Grange had borrowed without acknowledgment many passages from popular books of the period. Near the end of the article it is stated that, "No doubt other borrowings by the well-read Grange await detection." The purpose of this note is to record the finding, as predicted, of "other borrowings by the well-read Grange." They are from James Sanford's *The Garden of Recreation*, which appeared for the first time in 1573,<sup>2</sup> five years before the publication of *The Golden Aphroditis*.

On the title-page of the 1573 edition of Sanford's book, "containing most pleasant Tales, worthy deeds and witty sayings of

<sup>1</sup> Hyder E. Rollins, "John Grange's *The Golden Aphroditis*," *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, XVI (1934), 177-198.

<sup>2</sup> The title-page of a photostat of the British Museum copy of the 1573 edition reads: "The Garden of Pleasure:/Contayninge most pleasante Tales,/worthy deeds and witty/sayings of noble Princes/and learned Philosophers,/Moralized./No lesse delectable, than profitable./Done out of Italian into English, by/James Sanforde, Gent./Wherein are also set forth divers Verses and/Sentences in Italian, with the Englishe/to the same, for the benefit of/students in both tonges./Imprinted at London, by Henry Bynneman./Anno 1573./" Grange may have read a copy of the second edition of Sanford's translation, which is recorded in *The Short Title Catalogue* as printed in 1576: "Houres of recreation, or after dinners. Which may aptly be called the Garden of Pleasure." I have not seen this edition. In referring to Sanford's book, I have used the title of the second edition rather than that of the first, to connect it with its source, Guicciardini's *L'Hore di recreatore*.

noble Princes and learned Philosophers," it is stated that it is "done out of Italian into English by Iames Sanforde, Gent," without mention of Sanford's Italian source. Sanford's work is a literal translation of Ludovico Guicciardini's *L'Hore di recreatore*, as Professor Max Förster has pointed out.<sup>3</sup>

The anecdotes borrowed by Grange, together with the original passages from Sanford's *Garden of Recreation*, follow. It will be noticed that Grange's borrowings accord, in the main, with his purpose, as stated at the beginning of his *Epistle Dedicatore*, "to intreate of the eleuation or declination of the Mount of Venus."<sup>4</sup>

*GOLDEN APHRODITIS* (1577)<sup>5</sup>

[1] He oft reparde before the Goddes, with great complaynt, and mone, For that *Cibile* had transformde into a Lions shape *Hippomenes* his cosin deare: for taking yeelded rape, VVithout a reurence of the place: when beautie prickte his harte, His lust to serue (alas to soone) his hony waxed tarte. A Nymphe likewise of *Seyros* Ile, adornde with beautie rare, Before the Goddes with earnest sute, full oft she did reparde: As for to haue *Atlanta* fayre to be restorde againe Vnto hir former shape, which once *Cibele* (to hir payne) Togither with *Hippomenes* transformde to Lions route, And set them both at once to drawe hir chariot wheles aboue.<sup>6</sup>

(Sig. B<sub>2</sub>v)

*GARDEN OF RECREATION* (1573)

[1] Wherefore he not being able to endure the loue hee [Hippomenes] bare hir [Atalanta], in carying hir into his countreye, brought her into y<sup>e</sup> holy wood of *Cibel* mother of the gods, and there without reurence of the place, had to do with hir. Wherwith *Cibele* being offended, turned them both into Lions, and sette them (as it is also seene) to drawe hir charyot. (Pp. 30v-31r)

<sup>3</sup> *Anglia*, XLII (1918-19), 363, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Grange's purpose in writing his book is stated more fully on the second page of his "Epistle Dedicatore" (A2v) as, "to paint, as wel the pleasure as displeasure of Loue . . . (mingling the sweete with the soure) not only to discourse of the eleuation, but also of the declination of the Mount of Venus, for that they are dependant (as fellow *Fabians*) the one to the other."

<sup>5</sup> I have used the convenient facsimile edition of *The Golden Aphroditis* issued in the first series of the *Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints*, New York, [1937].

<sup>6</sup> Grange did not, of course, have to go to Sanford for the mythological account of the punishment of Hippomenes and Atalanta by Cybele. He

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

[2] I wil not say she would willingly haue bene reuenged, but yet I dare say it rubbed hir on y<sup>e</sup> gall as muche as the strokes greeued *Venus* which *Diomedes* gaue hir, when with weapon she woulde haue bene reuenged upon him, but that *Iupiter* calling hir aside, sayde: Daughter mine, thine office is not to be occupied in warlike affaires, but aboute toyers and louers, wherfore attende about loue [,] kisses, embracings and pleasures, and as for martiall Princes, *Mars* and *Bellona* haue the charge thereof.<sup>7</sup> (Sig. E<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup>)

[3] If this be true whiche stories make plaine, what maruell is it then (faire Ladye) that I with the sight of thee am rauisht? whose liuely countenance feedeth as well myne eye, as did the disputations of learned men in schooles feede the eares of the worthy Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who seemest in my sight faire *HeLEN* of *Troy*, *Pollixene*, *Caliope*, yea *Atlanta* hir selfe in beautie to surpassee, *Pandoras* in qualities, *Penelope* and *Lucretia* in chastenesse to deface. (Sig. F<sub>1</sub><sup>r</sup>)

[4] and yet what make you then of beautie by this (quoth she?) *Plato*

may, however, have been struck by the usefulness of the incident for his story when reading *The Garden of Recreation*. Grange's hero, N. O., and his heroine, Alpha Omega, are brought together for the first time while petitioning Cybele in behalf of the transformed Hippomenes and Atalanta. (Sigs. C<sub>2</sub><sup>r</sup>-C<sub>3</sub><sup>r</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> For poetic reworkings and other allusions by Shakespeare, Spenser, Marlowe, Lylly, and others to this advice of Jupiter's to Venus, see *MLN.*, L (1935), 354-355. The ultimate source of this incident is Homer's *Iliad*, v. 426-430. In *The Iliad of Homer*, by A. Lang, W. Leaf, and E. Myers, 1925, the passage is translated as follows (p. 95): "So spake she [Athene] and the father of gods and men smiled, and called unto him golden Aphrodite and said: 'Not unto thee, my child, are given the works of war; but follow thou after the loving tasks of wedlock, and to all these things shall fleet Ares and Athene look.'"

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

[2] *Venus* being beaten of *Diomedes*, woulde with weapon bee reuenged: but *Iupiter* calling hir, sayd: Daughter myne, thy office is not to be occupied in warlyke affaires, but about women, and louers. Wherfore attend about loue, kisses, embracings, and pleasures: And as for warlike affaires, *Mars* and *Minerua* haue the charge thereof. (P. 32<sup>v</sup>)

[3] The Emperour *Charles* the fourth, taking great delite in learning, went to the schooles of *Prague*, and hauing stayde there more than foure houres to heare woorthie men dispute, perceiued that some of his nobles sayd that supper tyme passed away: wherefore he nobly aunswere: Lette hym sup that will, as for mee, I feede me more with thyss, than with a supper. (P. 35<sup>v</sup>)

[4] *Socrates* called beautie a tyranny of shorte tyme; *Plato* a priu-

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

defined it lady (quoth he) to be a priuiledge of nature: *Carneades* a solitary kingdome: but *Domitius* sayde, that there was nothing more acceptable in an honest woman: *Aristotle* affirmed, that beautie is more worth than all the letters of commendation: *Homer* commended it for a glorious gifte of nature, and *Ouid* called it a grace of God. You seemed me thought (sayed A. O.) to define this upon the beautie of an honest woman: but what thinke you of a Curtisan? who answered: their beautie (sayeth *Socrates*) is a tyrannie of shorte tyme: *Theophrastus* a secret deceyte: and *Theocritus* a delectable damage. (Sig. F<sub>1</sub><sup>v</sup>)

[5] . . . doing eyther as *Julius Caesar* did, who valiantly and moste victoriously conquering his enimies wrote upon his shield as followeth, *Veni, vidi, et vici*, or else as the Emperour *Charles* the fifte, who taking *Iohn Fredericke* duke of Saxonie prysoner, though in deede with great difficultie by reason of his valiantnesse, *Veni, vidi, et dominus Deus vicit*. (Sig. I<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>)

[6] or what should we thinke of . . . hir in England in the raigne of *Henry* the eight, who hauyng twelve sonnes, and lying sore sicke, confessed to hir husbande that after the firste yeaer shee was neuer true vnto him? (Sig. K<sub>2</sub><sup>v</sup>)

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

ledge of nature: *Theophrastus* a secrete deceyte[:] *Theocritus* a delectable damage: *Carneades* a solitarie kingdom: *Domitius* sayd, that there was nothing more acceptable: *Aristotle* affirmeth, that beautie is more woorthe than all the letters of commendation: *Homere* sayd, that it was a glorious gifte of nature: and *Ouide* alluding to him, calleth it a grace of God. (Pp. 26<sup>v</sup>-26<sup>v</sup>, for "18<sup>v</sup>"- "18<sup>v</sup>")

[5] When the Emperour *Charles* the fifte, had discomfited and put to flyghte the mightie league of the *Almaine*, he dyd also finally discomfite the xxiiii. day of Aprill, in the yeare of our Lord .1547. neare to the famous ryuer of *Albu*, the valiant Duke *Iohn Frederick* of *Saxonie*, and toke him prisoner, with manie of his confederates, which great difficultie when he had ouercome, he modestly vsed these words, saying: I may not say as *Julius Cesar, veni, vidi, vici*, but I will saye, *veni, vidi, et Dominus Deus vicit*. (Pp. 65<sup>v</sup>-66<sup>v</sup>)

[6] When Henry the eyghte reigned, there was in London a gentlewoman, poore in goods, but riche in beautie, and very wanton. She had twelue sonnes, the first was hir husbands, the residue other mens. Nowe she falling grieuously sick, and waxing worse and worse, was sodeynly in daunger of deathe: Wherefore vpon a tyme she causing hir husband to be called to hir, sayd vnto him: William (so was he called) I must

## GOLDEN APHRODITIS (1577)

[7] when the Emperour *Sigismunde* was dead, one of his kinred persuaded the Empresse to remayne a widdowe: shewyng hir at large a greate circumstaunce of the Turtle, who lesing hir mate, aboue all other birdes liueth chaste euer after; but she smyling hereat, answered: sithe that you counsell me to followe an vnreasonable birde, why do you not rather set before me the doue or the sparrow which haue a more pleasant nature for women? (Sig. K<sub>2</sub>v)

[8] But yet further to proue the lightnesse of womē: do we not read that in a company of Gentlemen and Gentlewomen there befell a discourse of a noble woman of *Siena*, cōmonly accounted fayre and honest, and albeit she were praysed in a manner of all mē (as she that deserved it) there were some who eyther for desire they had to speake against womenkynde, or else to haue a repulse at hyr hande, reprooved hyr of vanitie and lightnesse? the honorable Lady the *Pecci* hearyng this, answered: why sir, if you will take vanitie and lightnesse from vs, what shall we haue lefte? as though vanitie and lightnesse were their proper and peculiar indewments. (Sigs. K<sub>2</sub>r-K<sub>2</sub>v)

Six<sup>8</sup> of the eight anecdotes borrowed from Sanford turn upon love between the sexes. Grange chose these from the several hundred anecdotes on other subjects in *The Garden of Recreation* because they helped him in his plan "to paint as well the pleasure

## GARDEN OF RECREATION (1573)

nowe mocke thee no longer, vnder-  
stande that of all these sonnes there  
is none thine but the eldest: because  
I was true to thee but the first  
yeare. (Pp. 23r-23v)

[7] When the Emperoure *Sigis-  
munde* was dead, a curiose kins-  
man of his exhorted his wife to  
remayne a widdowe, and followe the  
turtle: shewing hir at large, howe  
that birde (when hir make is dead)  
liueth chast euer after. But the  
woman smyling, aunswered him:  
Sith that you counsell me to fol-  
lowe an vnreasonable birde, why  
doe not you rather sette before me  
the doue or the sparowe, which  
haue a more pleasaunte nature for  
women? (Pp. 63r-63v)

[8] In a companie of gentlewomen  
and gentlemen of nobilitie, there  
befell a discourse of a noble woman  
of *Siena*, commonly accompted faire  
and honest: and albeit she were  
praised there in a manner of all  
men (as she that deserved it) there  
was one, who eyther for desire to  
speake agaynst, or for some repulse  
reccyued of hir, reprooved hir of  
vanitie and lightnesse. Wherfore  
the honorable lady the *Pecci*, which  
was present, foorthwith said: Nay  
if you take vanitie and lightenesse  
from women, what shall they haue  
left? (P. 22v).

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8.

as the displeasure of loue." And of the six, three,<sup>9</sup> which gibe at "the vanitie and lightnesse" of women, are to be added to Grange's other thrusts at women that run like a lighter thread through the texture of the narrative. The two remaining borrowings<sup>10</sup> do not deal with love, but turn upon incidents in the lives of eminent men in classical times. These, along with much other classic embroidery from other sources, Grange neatly condensed into similes, sentences, and exempla, because of his and his fashionable readers' fondness for the anecdotal and other riches of the ancients presented in this way.<sup>11</sup>

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### THOMAS BEEDOME

Thomas Beedome, whose *Poems Divine and Humane* attracted some attention when they were reprinted a few years ago, was, if several of his contemporaries may be credited, a youth of promise. But, although one of his poems has been deemed worth including in a recent anthology of seventeenth-century verse, he will probably be remembered less for his poetry than for his admirers and his admirations. These, nevertheless, can hardly be thought unimportant, for a poet who called Donne "honoured friend" and who addressed two poems to Donne's friend Wotton is not without interest. It may be useful, therefore, to supplement what is known of him with certain data hitherto overlooked.

First, to the list of his authenticated work given by Bullen in the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be added a series of

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

<sup>10</sup> Nos. 3 and 5.

<sup>11</sup> In his use of these figures of speech, Grange anticipated Lyly's more frequent and better known use in *Euphues*, a year later, of the same figures for the same purpose. The intimate and frequent intercourse between the main characters of Grange's story and their mythological relatives, culminating in a gathering of the gods and goddesses at the wedding feast of Alpha Omega and of N. O., finds no counterpart in *Euphues*, but does anticipate a similar mingling of mortals and of immortals in Lyly's comedies.

complimentary verses which he wrote for Lewes Roberts' *The Merchants Mappe of Commerce*, published at London in 1638.<sup>1</sup>

Second, it is very likely that he was born on the tenth of either March or May, 1613, and that he entered Merchant Taylors' School in 1621/2.

This twofold assumption is based partly upon the contents of *Poems Divine and Humane*, partly upon the records of Merchant Taylors' School.

Prefixed to *Poems*, which was brought out posthumously in 1641 under the editorship of the dramatist Henry Glapthorne, is a sequence of elegies contributed by Beedome's well-wishers, the final item being a threnody by his brother, Francis. Among the persons whom Beedome complimented was William Scott, to whom he also directed lines headed: "To William Scot on the Death of his Brother Gilman Scot."

Taken by themselves, these facts mean little; seen in the light of registrations at Merchant Taylors' School, they have surprising congruence. William Scott, born February 3, 1612, entered in 1626; Gilman Scott, born October 3, 1615, and Francis Beedom (Beedome), born February 22, 1615, were enrolled in the same year; Thomas Beedam (Beedome), born March or May 10, 1613, entered in 1621/2.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, then, it is safe to say that the two Beedomes and the two Scotts were schoolfellows and to fix the date of Thomas Beedome's birth as that given in the enrolment entry.

If this hypothesis is correct, Beedome cannot have been more than twenty-eight years old when he died, for when *Poems* was licensed on January 22, 1640/1, the author was styled "deceased."<sup>3</sup> Twenty-eight is not, to be sure, an advanced age, but Glapthorne's words should not be interpreted too literally when he repines:

Et vix ingressus teneros lanuginis annos;  
Corruis ante diem, blande *Bedome*, tuum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Facing page 4.

<sup>2</sup> Charles J. Robinson, *A Register of the Scholars Admitted into Merchant Taylors' School from A.D. 1562 to 1874* (2 vols., London, 1882-1883), I, 106, 119. Beedome also eulogizes Galiel Scott, possibly a brother of William and Gilman, but the name does not appear in the *Register*.

<sup>3</sup> G. E. B. Eyre, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640-1708 A.D.* (3 vols., London, 1913-1914), I, 438.

<sup>4</sup> *The Plays and Poems of Henry Glapthorne*, ed. Pearson (2 vols., London, 1874), II, 231.

Whether or not English poetry suffered through Beedome's untimely end is a question for critics to answer. If he should prove to be the Thomas Bedum, apothecary, who on September 21, 1637, married Katherine Watson at St. Peter's, Cornhill, and whose infant son was buried there on November 18, 1639,<sup>5</sup> they might find in his career a parallel to that of Keats, who also, wielding both pestle and pen, died young.

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'THE HERO; OR, THE ADVENTURES OF A NIGHT'

Professor A. B. Shepperson, in *The Novel in Motley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), describes Eaton Stannard Barrett's well known burlesque, *The Heroine*, and then continues:

Barrett's final work was *The Hero; or, the Adventures of a Night* [1817], a companion piece to *The Heroine* [1813]. . . . It has never before been recognized as Barrett's although its style and burlesque method are very like his. However, in the 1815 edition of *The Heroine* appears a hitherto unnoticed advertisement of *The Hero*, as a forthcoming publication "by the author of the *Heroine*." (P. 173.)

The advertisement is interesting as showing that the publisher wished to take advantage of the success of *The Heroine* when he launched *The Hero*, but Barrett's authorship of the latter story is out of the question. It was announced in 1817 as "a Translation, from the Pen of a Lady, of a French Work (which met with an extensive sale on the Continent some time back)."<sup>1</sup> The lady was Mrs. Sophia Elizabeth Shedd or Sheddon, a sister of 'Monk' Lewis; in a letter to Walter Scott, January 24, 1819, she acknowledged the translation and named the original, " *La Nuit Anglaise*—a very witty French work."<sup>2</sup> Lewis's biographer tells us that Sophia Lewis made this translation "in early womanhood," and "filled up a few pages in vindication of the 'Monk,'" but that her

<sup>5</sup> G. W. G. Leveson Gower, *A Register . . . of Saint Peeters upon Cornhill . . .* (2 vols., London, 1877-1879), I, 88, 198, 256.

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, LXXXVII (May, 1817), 443.

<sup>2</sup> *The Private Letter-Books of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. Wilfred Partington (London, 1930), pp. 229-30. See also *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. H. J. C. Grierson, V (London, 1933), 365, n. 2.

brother did not approve of the project.<sup>3</sup> We may perhaps date it not long after 1800, at a time when people were still excited about *The Monk*. *La Nuit Anglaise* (2 vols.; Paris, 1799) is described by Alice M. Killen, *Le Roman Terrifiant ou Roman Noir* (Paris, 1923), pp. 98-100, and attributed to Louis François Marie Bellin de La Liborlière. The hero is the bourgeois M. Dabaud—Mr. Dob in the English version—who delights in Radcliffian romance and goes through a series of adventures parallel to those in the stories he has read. Footnotes give exact references to the novels quoted and parodied. The whole affair turns out to be an elaborate practical joke. Finally M. Dabaud is forced to sign a compact with the devil renouncing the French translations of Mrs. Radcliffe, as well as works falsely attributed to her, and promising never to read any English novels except those of Richardson, Fielding, Miss Bennett, and their followers. The list of authors which Mr. Dob is permitted to read is revised and brought up to date: "those of Fielding, Smollett, and Miss Edgeworth; Waverley, and others of the same author; *Sketches of Character*,<sup>4</sup> and *Pride and Prejudice*, with others by the same author." (II, 133.)

It may be added that on the strength of a Philadelphia edition of 1817 *The Hero* has been listed as an early American novel.<sup>5</sup>

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### AN UNKNOWN CHILD OF LANDOR'S

The *London Quarterly Review*, in its notice of the death of Walter Savage Landor (vol. xxiv, April, 1865, pp. 178-9), describes the poet's sojourn in South Wales after his rustication from Oxford with a quotation from his *Imaginary Conversation* with the Abbé Delille (1846 ed.), where Landor tells how he there first learned to admire Milton: "and even the great hexameter sounded to me tinkling when I had recited aloud, in my solitary walks on the sea-

<sup>3</sup> [Margaret Baron-Wilson,] *The Life and Correspondence of M. G. Lewis* (London, 1839), I, 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Sketches of Character; or Specimens of Real Life*, London, 1808.

<sup>5</sup> Lillie Deming Loshe, *The Early American Novel* (repr. New York, 1930), pp. 56 n., 114; Oscar Wegelin, *Early American Fiction 1774-1830* (revised ed.; New York, 1929), p. 7.

shore, the haughty appeal of Satan and the repentance of Eve." The poet's younger brother, reading this article, jotted in the margin: "He too should have repented then—having seduced a girl at Tinby [sic] the year before, with whom he lived at Swansea till the birth of a Child." This copy of the *London Quarterly* is preserved in the Forster Collection, South Kensington Museum, and Robert Eyres Landor's note was written, of course, over seventy years after the event to which he refers. The asperity is in keeping with his other marginal remarks in the same article (see *MLN.*, 1937, 505-6), for he apparently had little love for his older brother; but it is none the less unlikely that the high-principled clergyman would have invented such a story.

The records of Trinity College, Oxford, and especially the recently discovered buttery books for 1792-4, fix quite exactly the period of Landor's residence in Oxford, though they do not throw light on the reason for his departure. He matriculated on November 13, 1792 (University Matriculation Register, Subscription Register [autograph], College Admission Register B [autograph]), and paid his caution money at that time. He did not come into residence, however, until the last week in January, 1793, and remained in Oxford until the middle of July, when he departed for a vacation that lasted until the third week of September. The next volume of the butler's accounts is lost, but we find Landor in Oxford from the end of March, when another volume begins, until the week of June 20, 1794, after which time he was never again in residence. His rustication, therefore, must have occurred in June, and not November, as Forster implies. Leeds, at whose shutters Landor is said to have fired a charge of shot, was also not at the university in the autumn of 1794. Landor's name continued on the books until the week of December 19, when it was written in by the butler, then crossed out, and not again placed in the college list. This was the week, then, in which he definitely severed his connection with the college. His caution money was apparently refunded in February, 1795, according to a letter from the present President of Trinity.

After his rustication, Landor went to South Wales, if he dates correctly his poem, *Voyage to St. Ives, Cornwall, from Port Einon, Glamorgan, 1794*, published in *Dry Sticks* (1858, p. 52). On his return home, he quarrelled with his father because he gave up his

room in college, and went to London, according to Forster. This must, then, have been late in December, 1794, when his name was removed from the college books. In London, he supervised the publication of his first volume of poetry, and Forster quotes a letter of April 12, 1795, dated from that city, adding that Landor soon afterwards departed for Tenby. There, and in Swansea, he seems to have spent most of the next three years.

Landor's first love in Wales was apparently Nancy Jones. To her, as "Ione," is addressed a poem headed *Written in 1793*; but the existing manuscript of this poem, in the British Museum, was written about 1860, and may or may not have been dated accurately. Ione figures in *Gebir* (1798) and *Crysaor* (printed 1800, published 1802), while the volume *Simonidea* (1806) contains a poem on her death, referring to her as both "Nancy" and "Ione." The Swansea parish baptismal registers show no trace of a child of Landor's, but the burial registers show the interment of a nine-months' infant, Anne Jones, on May 9, 1796, and a twenty-two year old girl of the same name on November 15, 1801. Nothing but the name, by no means an uncommon one, serves to connect the older girl with Landor's "Ione" ("Nancy" being probably a familiar name for "Anne"), nor is there better evidence that she and the infant were related. It is impossible at present, therefore, to elaborate on Robert Landor's terse note.

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### THE CARTLOAD IN THE GATE

An Italian scholar, G. Pitrè, has collected various medieval versions, and one modern North-African variant, of the story concerning certain besieged citizens who persuaded their enemies to lift the siege by making them believe they had plenty of food to offer them resistance for an indefinite period. They threw over the walls, or let out of the gate, some domestic animals fed on the last scrapings from their granary, or, according to other versions, they threw across to the enemy's camp loaves of bread or cakes that had been baked of the last flour that was left to them mixed with the scanty supply of milk extracted from their cattle or their women's breasts. Or they showed prisoners of war huge piles of sand or

stone covered with a thin layer of grain, and returned them, either hale or maimed, to the camp of the besiegers to tell of the abundant provisions within the town.<sup>1</sup>

The ruse is much older than the Middle Ages. Pitrè quotes similar stories from Frontinus, Valerius Maximus, Thucydides, and Herodotus. It is, of course, possible that similar ingenious ideas occur to different people under the stress of similar circumstances. The large number of these stories, however, makes the assumption of spontaneous invention highly improbable. But there is no reason to dismiss all of them as mere legends. It may well be that the literary tradition was turned to practical use in a beleaguered city's extremity. Some scholar may have suggested to his hard-pressed fellow citizens that they resort to the stratagem he had read of in classical literature. Frontinus had compiled his book for the very purpose of furnishing commanders *consilii quoque et providentiae exemplis . . . unde illis excogitandi generandi-que similia facultas nutriatur*. And the commander of a garrison who saw his provisions dwindle could find in Book III, Chapter 15, of the *Strategematon*, a number of solutions to his problem, *Quemadmodum efficiatur ut abundare videanter quae deerunt*.

In another chapter, Frontinus has collected various examples of stratagems by which not the besiegers but the besieged were duped by their enemies. He tells, amongst others, of Antiochus capturing the fortified town of Suenda in Cappadocia by dressing his own soldiers in the clothes of the men who used to bring provisions into the town:

Antiochus in Cappadocia ex castello Suenda, quod obsidebat, iumenta frumentatum egressa intercepit occisisque calonibus, eorundem vestitu milites suos tamquam frumentum reportantes summisit. Quo errore illi custodibus deceptis castellum intraverunt admiseruntque milites Antiochi.

In the Scottish epic poem *Wallace*, by Henry the Minstrel, nicknamed Blind Harry, occurs a similar incident. Sir William, Lord of Douglas Dale, is anxious to aid Wallace by taking Sanquhar Castle from the English. One of his men, Thomas Dickson, is a cousin of a certain Anderson, who supplies Sanquhar Castle with wood. Dickson easily persuades his cousin to lend him his horse

<sup>1</sup> G. Pitrè. *Stratagemmi Leggendi di Città Assediate*. Palermo: 1904. See also N. Zingarelli, *Archivio per le tradizioni popolari*. Vol. XXII.

and his clothes. He drives the cart to the castle, while Sir William and his men are lying in ambush in a nearby wood.

The yet yeid wp, Dieson gat in but mar;  
 A thourtour bande, that all the drawcht wpbar,  
 He cuttyt it; to ground the slyp can ga,  
 Cumryt the yet, stekyng thai mycht nocht ma.<sup>2</sup>

In Thomas Walker's modern prose translation,<sup>3</sup> these lines are rendered as follows:

The gate went up and Dickson got in without further parley. He then cut the cross-band which upheld all the drawbridge; the slip then went to the ground and encumbered the gate, which now stuck fast so that no more could be made of it.

But this gives a wrong impression of what actually happened. Dickson did not cut the cross-band which upheld all the drawbridge. What sort of a band would that be? The *drawcht* is not the drawbridge, but the cartload, and the *thourtour bande* was the strap that held the pile of wood together on the cart. When the strap was cut the wood slipped down and encumbered the gate so entirely that "there might not be a greater stoppage."

Blind Harry's story seems a combination of two stratagems taught by Frontinus, the one just quoted about Antiochus in Cappadocia, and another resorted to by Philip of Macedonia. Here the commander of the besieged is bribed by Philip to block the open gate with a cartload of cobbles, thus giving the besiegers an opportunity to enter the town:

Philippus, oppido Saniorum exclusus, Apollonidi praefecto eorum ad proditionem corrupto persuasit ut plastrum lapide quadrato oneratum in ipso aditu portae poneret. Confestim deinde signo dato insecurus oppidanos circa impedita portae claustra trepidantis oppressit.<sup>4</sup>

A similar scene occurs in *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden-Barnavelt*, commonly attributed to Philip Massinger and John Fletcher. Modesbargen, a Dutch fugitive from justice, is hiding in a castle on German territory, where he thinks himself safe from

<sup>2</sup> *Wallace, or The Life and Acts of Sir William Wallace, of Ellerslie*, by Henry the Minstrel, ed. by John Jamieson, 1820, p. 271, ll. 1631 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Sir William Wallace, His Life and Deeds*, by Henry the Minstrel (Blind Harry) in modern prose by Thomas Walker. Glasgow, 1910, p. 255 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Strategematon*, III, iii, 5.

arrest. While he is hunting in the neighboring woods, soldiers in the pay of the Prince of Orange secure the drawbridge to the castle:

They that are left behind, instead of helping  
A Boores Cart ore the Bridge, loden with hay,  
Have crackt the ax-tree with a brick, and there it stands,  
And choakes the Bridge from drawing.<sup>5</sup>

Here, as in Frontinus's story about Philip and the Sanii, the ruse succeeds with the aid of an inside traitor. For "they that are left behind" are men whom Modesbargen left in charge of the castle.

A hay cart that chokes drawbridge and gate also figures in an episode related by John Barbour in *The Bruce*. Linlithgow was in the hands of the English. A farmer, William Bunnock, who used to cart hay into the fortress, decided to wrest it from them. He advised his friends to set an ambush while he drove his hay into the town. Eight armed men were concealed under the load, he himself would stroll along beside the wagon, and on the box-seat would sit a brave yeoman with a hatchet under his belt. When the cart had crossed the bridge and was inside the gate, Brunnock gave a signal, and cut the rope that held the hay load. The eight armed men jumped off the cart, the men in ambush ran towards the gate, which the defenders were unable to close, and thus the castle was taken.<sup>6</sup>

In Blind Harry's *Wallace* the use of the hayload that brings armed men into the fortress is combined with the stratagem which Frontinus fathers on Antiochus.<sup>7</sup> Wallace had heard that the town of St. Johnston used to send out servants to bring in cartloads of hay. One morning they were seized by Wallace's men and put to death. Five, including Wallace himself, donned the outer garments of the slain men; and thus disguised, they drove the three carts back to town, five men being hidden under the hay in each wagon. Sir John Ramsay, meanwhile, was lying in ambush to rush to the fray as soon as the fighting should begin. The disguise misled the gate-keepers; the carters were admitted without hindrance, Ramsay's men ran from ambush towards the open gate, and the town was taken.

<sup>5</sup> *A Collection of Old English Plays*, by A. H. Bullen, II, p. 271.

<sup>6</sup> *The Bruce*. Ed. by W. W. Skeat, Scottish Text Society. Book x, 137-250.

<sup>7</sup> See the passage quoted above.

There is a Dutch version of this incident that is familiar to every school child in Holland. For it is a famous episode in the Eighty Years' War against Spain. Van Meeteren tells the story under the year 1590. One morning the town of Lochem, in the County of Zutphen, opened its gates to let in three hay wagons, each attended by two or three soldiers disguised as peasants with forks in their hands. When the first had crossed the drawbridge, the porter's son and another boy began to pluck hay off the load, for it is an ancient custom there that while the carts are between the two gates you may pull off as much hay as you can. Suddenly the porter's son seized a leg instead of hay. "Treason!" he yelled, "treason!" The men jumped out from under the hay, the Spaniards who lay in ambush near the gate came to their rescue, and a fight with the garrison ensued in which the Spaniards were the losers. They were driven back across the bridge, and Lochem was saved.

Van Meeteren concludes his account of this incident with the statement, "It was the sergeant major at Zutphen who, with the parish priest of that town, had contrived this attempt." The parish priest may have been a reader of Frontinus.

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#### AN EARLY USE OF DONNE'S FOURTH SATIRE

Among the problems which confront students of John Donne is the extent of the diffusion of those early poems which circulated in manuscript for many years before their publication in 1633. None of the miscellanies which appeared toward the end of the sixteenth or at the beginning of the seventeenth century contains poems by Donne, and although Francis Davison, in notes made "at some date after 1608," was "inquiring for 'Satyres, Elegies, Epigrams by John Don,' and querying whether they might be obtained 'from Eleaz. Hodgson and Ben Johnson,'" the earliest manuscript collections of Donne's conceits and of extracts from his poems date from the second quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> The injunctions of secrecy<sup>2</sup> which Donne imposed upon those friends to whom

<sup>1</sup> *The Poems of John Donne*, ed. Grierson (Oxford, 1912), II, lvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, lxxvi.

he sent poems were well observed. An exception, however, represented by a printed extract of an early date, has hitherto apparently escaped attention. It is to be found in Joseph Wybarne's (or Wibarne's) *New Age of Old Names* (p. 113), entered in the Stationers' Register on August 25, 1609, and published in the same year with a dedication to Sir John Wentworth. To illustrate the incredibility of the legend of Antichrist he quotes ll. 18-23 of the fourth satire:

But because I cannot in prose expresse it, you shall heare the tenth Muse  
her selfe, utter it in her owne language thus,

A thing more strange, then on Niles slime the Sunne  
Ere bred, or all which into Noahs Arke came:  
A thing which would have posed *Adam* to name,  
Stranger then the seven Antiquaries studies.  
Then Affricks monsters, Guyanes rarities,  
Stranger then strangers.

A marginal note reads "Dunne in his Satyres." Whatever relationship existed between Joseph Wybarne, a Trinity College, Cambridge, man who had been ordained deacon (Lincoln) in 1607,<sup>3</sup> and John Donne is unknown.

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#### A CHAUCERIAN FISHERMAN(?)

Disciples of Izaak Walton have followed their master in praising *The Secrets of Angling* (1613) by J[ohn] D[ennys]. Little attention, however, seems to have been paid to some of the poem's literary qualities. It opens in a Virgilian strain: "Of Angling, and the Art thereof I sing," and continues with stanzas of invocation to the Nymphs and the "sweet Boyd," that "Thy mother Auon runnest soft to seeke." In the Second Booke are several stanzas in which fish are catalogued. Obviously Dennys was familiar with poetic conventions. Of greater interest, for the moment, are portions of the third, fourth and fifth stanzas of the First Booke.

<sup>3</sup>Venn and Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigiensis*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27), iv, 481.

First, when the Sunne beginneth to decline  
 Southward his course, with his fayre Chariot bright,  
 And passed hath of Heauen the middle Line,  
 That makes of equall length both day and night;  
 And left behind his backe the dreadfull signe,  
 Of cruell Centaure, slaine in drunken fight,  
 When Beasts do mourne, and Birds forsake their song,  
 And euery Creature thinkes the night too long.

And blistring Boreas with his chilling cold,  
 Vnclothed hath the Trees of Sommers greene;  
 And Woods, and groues, are naked to behold,  
 Of Leaues and Branches now dispoyled cleane:  
 So that their fruitfull stocks they doe vnfold,  
 And lay abroad their of-spring to be seene; . . .

Then goe into some great Arcadian wood . . .

The Chaucerian effect is readily observed. In fact, Dennys's allusions to the Zodiac, to the silence of birds that think "the night too long," and to "blistring Boreas with his chilling cold" seem a conscious echo and adaptation of phrases from the first twelve lines of the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

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### THE FUTURE AUXILIARIES GOTHIC 'HABEN' AND OLD NORSE 'MUNU'

In Gothic the durative future is sometimes expressed by means of the periphrastic auxiliary *haban* plus the infinitive. The apparent sense of *haban* in this function is 'to have [the privilege, right, duty, destiny, intention, etc.] to do something.' Examples are: J. XII, 26 ὅπου εἰμὶ ἔγώ, ἔκει καὶ ὁ διάκονος ὁ ἔμος ἔσται, *parei im ik, þaruh sa andbahts meins wisan habaiþ*, 'where I am, there also my servant shall be [= has the right, privilege, opportunity to be]'; k. XI, 12 ὁ δὲ ποιῶ, καὶ ποιήσω, *þatei tauja jah taujan haba*, 'what I do and shall do [= have the intention, am going to do]'. That *haban* as a future auxiliary may imply 'intention' is supported by the fact that *haban* often translates Grk. μέλλειν 'to intend, be destined' (cf. J. VI, 6 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἥδει τί ἔμελλεν, *íþ*

*silba wissa þatei habaida taujan*, 'for he himself knew what he intended to do'). Otherwise Grk. *μέλλειν* is rendered by Goth. *munan* (cf. J. 6, 15, *Τησοῦς οὖν γνὼς ὅτι μέλλοντι ἔρχεσθαι, ἵψ Jesus kunnands þatei munaidedun usgaggan*, 'now Jesus knowing that they intended to go'). ON *munu* (< Goth. *munan*) came to be used as the auxiliary of pure futurity (= Germ. *werden*). Its original sense of 'have in mind, intend,' however, is often present<sup>1</sup> (e. g., *Sk. 19 epli ellifu hér hefik algullin, þau mun ek þér, Gerðr! gefa*, 'eleven apples all-golden I have here, these I shall [intend to, am going to] give thee, Gerth').

ON *munu* then represents a semantic parallel to Goth. *haban* = *munan*. Since *haban*, however, is so seldom used in the function of a future auxiliary we may assume that the original sense of 'intention' had not yet entirely passed over into a purely temporal function as could be the case with ON *munu*. Behaghel<sup>2</sup> (*Deutsche Syntax*, II. § 686) assumes that the use of Goth. *haban* as a future auxiliary developed under the influence of ecclesiastical Lat. *habere* and Grk. *μέλλειν* in the same function. As regards the influence of Lat. *habere* in this function there can hardly be any doubt.<sup>3</sup> It was the congruity<sup>4</sup> of form and meaning 'to have' between Lat. *habere* and Got. *haban* which led to the parallel usage of Goth. *haban* as a future auxiliary.

As regards the influence of Grk. *μέλλειν* 'intend, be destined,' it does not seem plausible that Goth. *haban* could have acquired this sense if Lat. *habere* had not existed. Rather we may infer that after Goth. *haban* had acquired this sense of 'intention' under the influence of Lat. *habere*, the Goth. verb *haban* naturally likewise served to translate Grk. *μέλλειν* in the same sense. Wherever

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nygaard, *Norroen Syntax*, § 177, Anm. 1.

<sup>2</sup> "Es kann kaum einem Zweifel unterliegen, dass diese Fügungen [*duginan, haban*] angeregt sind durch das Vorbild des älteren kirchlichen Lateins, das *incipere* oder *habere* mit Inf. zum Ausdruck des Futurs oder des gr. *μέλλειν* mit Inf. verwendet."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. OHG *ci arstandanne eigan* = Lat. *resurgere habent* 'shall arise,' Dkm. 56, 97; see Erdmann, *Grundzüge der deutschen Syntax*, I. § 142, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Goth. *haban* = *ἴχειν, habere* 'to consider as'; Mk. XI, 32 *habaidedun Johannen þatei praufetes was, εἰχον τὸν Ἰωάννην δτι προφήτης ἦν*, 'they considered John to be a prophet'; OS *habdun ina for wārsagon* (*Hel. 2727*), OHG *habent Johannem samaso wizagon* (*Tatian 123, 2*), Lat. *habent Johannem sicut prophetam*.

Grk.  $\muέλλειν$  was rendered by Goth. *munan*, the Goth. employed the purely native idiom parallel to ON *munu*. Grk.  $\muέλλειν$  therefore simply served to contribute to the already established sense of *haban* 'intend' as a future auxiliary. Grk.  $\muέλλειν$ : Goth. *munan*: ON *munu* represent semantic analogues, whereas Goth. *haban*, as a future auxiliary, represents a semantic 'Kontrafaktur' of Lat. *habēre*.

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#### AN AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF MATHURIN DE LESCURE

The letter here reproduced is in the possession of the library of The University of Texas and was found in a copy of the "seconde édition, revue et augmentée d'une préface," of *Eux et elles: histoire d'un scandale* (Paris, Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 1860) by M. de Lescure.<sup>1</sup> The letter is addressed to "Mon cher Ami," undoubtedly Poulet-Malassis, who had brought out the first edition of *Eux et elles* earlier in the same year, and it was written the day after the composition of the preface to the second edition to which it makes reference; it is written in a very neat hand which, after almost eighty years, would still be entirely legible but for the fact that it is so microscopic as to render some words not easily decipherable. The interest of the letter is two-fold: it is an eminently practical document, with nothing about it of the visionary character which writers are popularly supposed to possess; and it bears directly upon one of the most notorious episodes in the history of French literature. The book with which the letter is chiefly concerned, *Eux et elles*, is an honest, highly acrimonious review of three volumes on the Musset-George Sand *liaison* which were comparatively fresh from the presses: George Sand's *Elle et lui*, Paul de Musset's *Lui et elle*, and Louise Colet's *Lui*. The letter follows:

<sup>1</sup> Matthieu-François-Adolphe-Mathurin de Lescure, born at Bretenoux (Lot), 1833, died at Clamart, 1892. He served the government in posts of distinction, occupying, at the time of his death, that of "chef des secrétaires rédacteurs du Sénat." He was the author of a number of historical works and of a study of the life and writings of François Coppée to the year 1889, when it was published.

Paris, le 27 avril, 1860

Mon cher Ami

Je vous adresserai demain ou après demain le prospectus Marais.<sup>2</sup>

Je compte sur la suite du succès de *Eux et Elles*, parce que la critique n'a pas encore parlé, et que la veine n'a été qu'effleurée;—(on en a demandé hier devant moi en plusieurs endroits) parce que le livre est adorably imprimé, parce que les 3 éditeurs de *Lui, Elle et Lui*, et *Lui et Elle* ne demandent pas mieux que de le pousser, puisqu'il pousse les leurs—enfin parce que je compte sur la préface. Voilà.—Je suis bien aise de vous voir tirer à 1000 à la condition que vous ferez très vite, et que nous essaierons de faire un peu de publicité. 3 annonces à 10 f. pièce peuvent faire beaucoup pour une vente.

Si vous vendez 1000 ex. il est évident qu'il y aura pour nous quelque profit, n'est-ce pas?

Je pose la question, toute accessoire qu'elle est.

Je vous renvoie un exempl. corrigé, seulement du point de vue typographique.

Je n'ai rien trouvé à supprimer ou à augmenter.

Voyez vous-même, je vous donne plein pouvoir à cet effet. J'essaierai pour pousser cette 2me éd. de soulever une polémique. Sitôt que vous m'aurez donné le signal, paraîtront à la Gazette, à 2 jours d'intervalle, ma préface et un article de Guttinguer, ancien ami de Musset.

Nous essaierons de (sic)

Je vous apporterai le Lonay<sup>3</sup> qui m'occupe exclusivement avec le Marais, quand je viendrai, mais je crains que ce ne soit que dans les premiers jours de juin. Il s'agit de louvoyer, d'avoir un congé, de le demander au bon moment, d'éviter les ordres de voyage, les occasions de remplacement, etc. C'est toute une affaire.

Vous aurez pour la 2me édition un correspondant à  
 Mézières  
 Charleville  
 Montmédy  
 Roeroy  
 Givet  
 Sedan

<sup>2</sup> This is an allusion to what was to be Lescure's edition, with introduction and notes, of the *Journal* and *Mémoires* of Matthieu Marais (1664-1737), the friend and collaborator of Pierre Bayle (4 vols., Paris, Didot frères, 1863-68). Lescure was trying perhaps, at the time of his letter, to interest Poulet-Malassis in the publication of this work.

<sup>3</sup> This is the only word in the letter which I have been unable to make out with some degree of certainty. It obviously refers to a book on which Lescure was at work, but I find no such name or any other like it in the Lescure bibliography given in Thieme's *Guide bibliographique*.

Rethel (sic)

Je négocie tout cela.  
Il a fait hier une très belle journée à Paris.—Aujourd'hui temps gris et froid.

Votre  
M. de Lescure (signed)

AARON SCHAFER

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### SOME FORGOTTEN WORKS OF PEDRO ANTONIO DE ALARCÓN

In *La Ilustración, Periódico Universal*<sup>1</sup> are found four short compositions of Alarcón not mentioned in biographies or criticisms of this author. It is very possible that they were written during the author's youth and were included among the "prohibidas," for in his *Historia de mis Libros* Alarcón says:

Si además de las Novelas Cortas contenidas en los tres tomos publicados por la *Colección de Escritores Castellanos*, aparecen algunas otras de mi juventud, conste que reniego de ellas y que prohíbo absolutamente su reimpresión, por considerarlas insustanciales y de mal gusto.<sup>2</sup>

These *novelas cortas* are:

1. *La Portera de Victor Hugo* (Fragmento copiado de mi cartera). (1855, 478.) The author visits Hugo's old residence and the latter's janitress shows him the house where the author of *Hernani* lived. Ends with a eulogy of Hugo.
2. *La Tumba de Balzac* (1856, 11). Quotes part of Hugo's "Discurso en los funerales de Balzac." A visit to Balzac's tomb and a short review of his major works. High praise for his *Comédie Humaine*.
3. *Napoleón en Santa Elena* (1855, 131). A fantastic picture of Napoleon, his downfall and exile.
4. *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* (1856, 215). A mixture of dialogue and

<sup>1</sup> Published in Madrid by Ángel Fernández de los Ríos, between 1849-1857. Each volume is referred to by its corresponding year. This publication should not be confused with *La Ilustración de Madrid* (1870) or with any other of similar title.

<sup>2</sup> *Obras*, vol. of *El Capitán Veneno* (Madrid, 1900, 212).

description, a congeries for which the author apologizes at the end. The slight plot is the love affair between Enrique and Antonia, with the final marriage of the latter to Arturo, intimate friend of Enrique.

Concerning *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* the editor of the *Ilustración* says, in introducing the work: "Este es el título de un delicioso librito que acaba de ver la luz pública: todos o casi todos nuestros jóvenes escritores, han contribuido con algún trabajo a esta obra, de la cual tomamos como muestra, los dos siguientes artículos." These two articles are *Celebridades Contemporáneas*, by José de Castro Serrano, and *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo*.<sup>3</sup> This work of Alarcón, then, gives title to the collection of short novels. The only record I have found of this book is in Hidalgo's *Diccionario General de Bibliografía Española*.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that this work was also consigned to the "prohibidas" class, as Alarcón advised.

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### THREE UNRECORDED ROUSSEAU EDITIONS

I have recently acquired three editions of Rousseau texts which seem to have escaped the researches of Dufour and other bibliographers: a 1761 edition of *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, the *Lettre à M. de Beaumont* and the *Discours sur l'économie politique*.

The *Nouvelle Héloïse* is obviously a *contrefaçon*, to be added to the five that Dufour lists (*Recherches bibliographiques sur les œuvres imprimées de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, I, 92 ff.). Its distinguishing marks: it is in 6 tomes, 12mo; it has the *cartouche* of the *princeps* (Dufour no. 87) but the red and black of the title-page are reversed; it has all the readings and mistakes of the

<sup>3</sup> Two more articles from *Mañanas de Abril y Mayo* appear in the same volume of the *Ilustración* (1856): *En el Retiro*, by Antonio Hurtado, and *A una Ciega, Improvisación Inédita*, by Espronceda. With regard to this last mentioned work J. Moreno Villa says in his *Clásicos Castellanos* edition of Espronceda (p. 207): "Esta composición improvisada vió la luz pública, en concepto de inédita, en *La Ilustración*, el año de 1853." *A una Ciega*, however, is found in the *Ilustración* of 1856 and not of 1853.

<sup>4</sup> Madrid, 1862-72; 7 vols.

*princeps* noted by Mornet in his edition; and the first two half-titles read "Tome première" and "Tome seconde."

The *Lettre à M. de Beaumont* alleges "A Amsterdam, chez Marc Michel Rey, MDCCLXIII." It has 107 pages, 12mo, and ends with an *Avis de l'Imprimeur*: "L'Auteur de cet Ouvrage ne s'étant pas trouvé à portée de revoir les épreuves, on ne doit point lui attribuer les fautes qui peuvent s'y être glissées malgré tous mes soins pour la correction."

The *Discours sur l'économie politique* is a "nouvelle édition" of Geneva, 1760, 12mo, with the same cut as in Dufour no. 68 (1758). Dufour no. 69 reads: "Le Catalogue de la Bibl. de Zurich indique une 'Nouvelle Edition, Genève, 1760, in-8°.'" Unless there was a mistake in recording the format of the Zurich copy, this is a different edition.

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### RACAN AND MOLIÈRE

Writing to Madame de Thermes under the name of Arténice in Burgundy Racan says

Plus je pense au sujet qui vous retient à la compagnie, et plus je trouve de raisons qui vous obligent à revenir voir Paris, hors duquel il n'y a point de salut pour les belles, ny pour les honnêtes gens. (I, 315.)

Mascarille (*Précieuses Ridicules*, Sc. ix): "Pour moi, je tiens que hors de Paris, il n'y a point de salut pour les honnêtes gens."

The edition Tenant de Latour (Bibl. Elzivérienne) of Racan's *Oeuvres* 1:301 says that this letter is one which appeared in the Faret edition of Racan (1627), to which I have not access. If this is true, may not Molière have seen it before the *P. R.* (1659) and used the gallant badinage of Racan to express the comic complacency of Mascarille?

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## AN UNCOLLECTED QUATRAIN BY BERTAUT

Perhaps the future meticulous editor of a critical edition (which we still lack) of Jean Bertaut's verse will be pleased to include, for the sake of completeness, an insignificant quatrain overlooked by Chenevière. It is one of the congratulatory preliminary poems in Gabriel Robert's *Violier des Muses, A Poictiers Par Charles Pignon Et Catherin Courtoys, 1614* (*privilège* granted September 15, 1612), of which the Arsenal has a copy (8° B. L. 9025):<sup>1</sup>

*Sur les œuvres de Monsieur Robert. Quatrain*

Si ie manque a loüer dignement les beaux vers  
D'vn chery d'Apollon & favory des Muses  
Comme toy mon Robert on verra mes excuses  
Dans le rauissement de tes poemes diuers.

Bertault

CHANDLER B. BEALL

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### SOME HEINE NOTES

The fortunate prospect of seeing Elster's second edition of Heine's works completed prompts the publication of a few proposed *addenda* and *corrigenda* to the first volumes of that edition and to the material of the earlier edition<sup>1</sup> still awaiting inclusion in the new series.<sup>2</sup> My list is by no means intended to be exhaustive; rather it is to be hoped that recent events in Heine scholarship may stimulate others to further offerings.

1) In his notes on *Almansor* Elster<sup>2</sup> (III, 435) raises a not

<sup>1</sup> The volume contains also an interesting reference to various ballets performed at Poitiers (?) in 1610, including *Armide*, *les Dieux*, *les Gueux* (pp. 44 sqq.).

<sup>2</sup> *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsgg. v. Ernst Elster. Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Leipzig-Wien, Bibliographisches Institut. (1893) 7 vols.

<sup>3</sup> *Heines Werke*, hrsgg. v. Ernst Elster, Zweite kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe. Leipzig, Bibliographisches Institut, 1924. 4 vols. This fragmentary edition is now being completed by Professor Walter Wadeuhl of West Virginia University.

uninteresting point, though obviously of secondary importance so far as Heine research is concerned, namely the outgoing influence of that work upon Richard Wagner. Nevertheless, in view of the parallel drawn by Elster between line 1091 and *Parsifal* II, 2, it seems advisable, if merely for the sake of greater completeness and exactitude, to call attention to a much earlier parallel: that between line 1100 f. and *Die Walküre* II, 4. Heine's Almansor, influenced by Byron (as Elster, *loc. cit.*, after Ochsenbein, points out), would not forego Zuleima. "Und ständen offen Allahs goldne Hallen,/ Und Huris winkten mir mit schwarzen Augen. . . ." This speech in its turn has acted formatively upon Siegmund's rejection of Walhall if it means separation from Sieglinde: "So grüsse mir Walhall,/ grüsse mir Wotan,/ grüsse mir Wälse / und alle Helden —/ grüss auch die holden / Wunschesmädchen: / zu ihnen folg' ich dir nicht." The connection with *Walküre* seems at least as convincing as that with *Parsifal*; it belongs, in any case, along with other instances of the same general current of influence,<sup>3</sup> to the chapter of Heine-Wagner relations.

2) *Reise von München nach Genua*, Chapter XVI, contains the following description of the *Obstfrau* (whom some readers will remember as having, two chapters previously, enabled Heine to make his far-fetched pun on *Ohrfeige* by throwing a few figs at his ears!):

Die Frau hatte auch keineswegs ein übles Aussehen. Sie war freilich schon etwas in jenem Alter, wo die Zeit unsere Dienstjahre mit fatalen Chevets auf die Stirne anzeichnetnet . . .<sup>4</sup>

Elster explains *Chevets* by the phrase "Mit peinlichen Stiften":<sup>5</sup> an explanation rendered scarcely more satisfactory by his longer note deriving the word from *caput*, connecting it with *épée de chevet*, whereby, to be sure, he characterizes the passage as "auffallend und schwer zu erklären" and confesses himself not satisfied with his own solution.<sup>6</sup> His remark: "Irrtum nicht ausgeschlossen"<sup>7</sup> is decidedly to the point and calls for a reexamination of the manuscript before reaching a positive conclusion, yet the fairly obvious tentative suggestion which the present writer should like

<sup>3</sup> See further Elster's note on line 1091 (*loc. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 182.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 523 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 524.

to offer is that Heine wrote or intended to write *Chevrons*. This fits the sense of *Dienstjahre* without abstruse or tenuous hypothesis.

3) Elster's note on a satiric passage in *Die Bäder von Lucca*, Chapter VIII, of which other editors have not too courageously fought shy, strikes me as containing at least one error. Hirsch Hyacinth describes one of the children at a certain "famous" children's fancy-dress party: "—sogar ein ganz klein Kind . . . trug einen Elefantenorden."<sup>8</sup> Elster remarks: ". . . beim Elefantenorden an Siam zu denken."<sup>9</sup> The Siamese order in question, however, was not founded until 1861, more than thirty years after our passage was written. Siam had little European importance when the *Reisebilder* appeared. Rather is the reference to the Danish Order of the Elephant and the very small child represents Denmark. This difference is not trifling when seen in the light of the entire passage.

4) *Aus den Memoiren des Herren von Schnabelewopski*, Chapter IV. Previous editors have either ignored or possibly rejected an interesting parallel with Eichendorff. Heine—or his hero—is watching the passers-by on the Jungfernsteig in Hamburg when suddenly he is seized by the peculiar delusion that these people are nothing but arabic numerals:

... da ging eine krummfüßige Zwei neben einer fatalen Drei, ihrer schwangeren und vollbusigen Frau Gemahlin; dahinter ging Herr Vier auf Krücken; einherwatschelnd kam eine fatale Fünf, rundbäuchig mit kleinem Köpfchen; dann kam eine wohlbekannte kleine Sechse und eine noch wohlbekanntere böse Sieben . . .<sup>10</sup>

This calls to mind the endeavors of Eichendorff's Taugenichts at arithmetic.<sup>11</sup> It may not at once be evident how closely Schnabelewopski's *närrischer Wahnsinn* parallels Taugenichts' *gar seltsame Gedanken*, for the reason that the passages have meagre correspondence of detail. The occurrence in both of the proverbial *böse Sieben* and the use of *Null* are not conclusive. Moreover, Heine's hero imagines his people as numbers; Eichendorff's sees his num-

<sup>8</sup> Elster<sup>2</sup> IV, 278 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 538.

<sup>10</sup> Elster<sup>1</sup> IV, 105.

<sup>11</sup> *Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts*, Chapter II. (*Eichendorffs Werke*, hrsgg. v. Adolf v. Grolman, Bibliographisches Institut, Leipzig, 1928; II, 375.)

bers as living persons. But in both cases the purpose is strikingly similar: satire of the philistine, allowed by Heine greater latitude and elaboration. Further pertinent is the point of departure for Heine's musings: an image much like that of Taugenichts at his bookkeeping, when he became *ganz verwirrt* and could not count to three, for Schnabelewopski cries out:

Entsetzlich! . . . wenn einem von diesen Leuten, während er auf dem Contoirbank sässe, plötzlich einfiele, dass zweimal zwei eigentlich fünf sei . . .<sup>10</sup>

Heine began his *Schnabelewopski* the year before *Taugenichts* appeared, but he did not finish it until 1833. Despite an apparent lack of direct mention of *Taugenichts* on Heine's part, it is not likely that he missed reading it. The story appeared in 1826 along with certain poems of Eichendorff's and *Das Marmorbild*,<sup>12</sup> which, through its influence on *Florentinische Nächte*<sup>13</sup> (1836) and the reference to it in *Elementargeister*<sup>14</sup> (of the same year), we know Heine to have read.

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## KATHOLE

Diese Form statt der üblichen "Katholik" kann man in nichtkatholischen Kreisen Norddeutschlands (aus Österreich und Preussisch-Schlesien kenne ich sie nicht) in ironischer Rede (etwa seit 1925) hören. (Vgl. z. B. *Hindenburg oder die Sage von der deutschen Republik*, S. 305, von Emil Ludwig, 1935: Hindenburg soll, wenn man ihm einen Reichskanzlerkandidaten vorschlug, "mit einem Neckwort" gefragt haben: "Ist der auch Kathole?", gegen "Katholen" hatte er "irgendwo ein leises Misstrauen.")

Was treibt zu solcher Neubildung?—Natürlich vor allem ein Gefühl der Überlegenheit über den Katholizismus. Und dies könnte

<sup>10</sup> This last, to be sure, had previously appeared in Fouqué's *Frauentaschenbuch*, 1819.

<sup>12</sup> For the passage see Elster<sup>1</sup> IV, 325 f. or the Insel edition of Heine, VI, 388 f., and especially Oskar Walzel's note on it, *ibid.*, 549.

<sup>13</sup> Elster<sup>1</sup> IV, 427 and his note 427 f.

in protestantischen oder jüdischen Kreisen zu Hause sein. Bei Entstehung des nicht bösartigen Neckwortes in letzteren Kreisen würde die Analogie von *Jude* (weniger die von *Spaniole*) massgebend gewesen sein; aber dieser Gedanke bricht sofort in sich zusammen, wenn man erwägt, dass für den Juden *Jude* ein positiv betontes Wort ist. Abgesehen davon fehlt jeder Anhaltspunkt dafür, dass die Juden sich gerade—wenn überhaupt—gerade über die Katholiken besonders erhaben gefühlt haben sollten. Höchstens könnte man an eine Art jüdische Selbstdestruktion, eine Art Heranziehen von *socii malorum* denken, aber auch das entfällt für die Zeit vor 1933. Also bleibt, was ja auch mit der bekannten Katholikenverachtung in preussisch-staatsprotestantischen Kreisen Deutschlands zusammenstimmt (s. Hindenburg!), nur das letztere Ursprungsmilieu übrig: *katholisch* (*er ist sehr katholisch!*) hat ja in solchen Kreisen den Beiklang “falsch, heuchlerisch, intrigant, frömmlicherisch, nicht sehr intelligent” (etwa ähnlich wie *ein biederer Zentrumsmann*). Man sagt dementsprechend *ein sturer Kathole* für einen militanten Katholiken, *er ist ein Kathole!*, wenn man eine Machenschaft klerikaler Kreise zugunsten eines Katholiken als glaublichinstellen will, *ein schwerer Kathole*, wenn man sozusagen die Quantität der Katholizität an einem Menschen zeichnen will. Alle Menschen meiner Bekanntschaft, die den Ausdruck verwenden, sind wenn nicht überzeugte Protestanten, so solche, in denen vom angestammten Protestantismus der Abscheu von diesem Andersartigen der Katholiken, besonders vor seiner religiösen Praxis, lebendig ist (einer dieser meiner Bekannten äusserte, als in unserem protestantischen Aufenthaltsort nach dem Kriege zum erstenmale eine Fronleichnamsprozession veranstaltet wurde, man solle die Teilnehmer wegen öffentlicher Ruhestörung und Verkehrsbeschränkung anklagen!). Selbstverständlich ist ein *Proteste* statt *Protestant* (für Freiburger Studentenkreise aus Berlin 1923-25 mir bezeugt) nur sekundär nach *Kathole* in selbstironisierender Absicht geprägt worden.

*Kathole* ist in Österreich unmöglich, das liegt nicht nur am katholischen Charakter der Bevölkerung, sondern an etwas Sprachlichem: der Unbeliebtheit der unbetonten Endung bei Gentilnamen: der Österreicher sagt *Preiss* für *Preusse*, *Jud* für *Jude*; als die Rumänen in den Weltkrieg und damit in den Gesichtskreis eintraten, hießen sie *Rumäner*.—Es wird mir auch eine Bildung “er katholt” mitgeteilt, die nicht etwa bedeutet, “er katholisiert,”

er liebäugelt mit dem Katholizismus, sondern er betätigt sich "im Sinne des *Katholen*," "er gibt katholisch an." In "jetzt wird er katholisch" ist eine Entwicklung ins Unheimliche angedeutet (vgl. Fischer, *Schwäb. Wb.* s. v. *Katolik*).

Mit dem Fallenlassen der Endung *-ik* ist vor allem eine Ungleichmässigkeit in der Benennung der drei Hauptreligionen Deutschlands neugeregelt: *Protestánt*, *Katholik*, *Júde* (*Katholik* ist selbst als *Katholice* zuerst aufgetreten, um 1700): *Kathóle* ist paroxyton wie *Júde*, ausserdem ist überhaupt die Sonderstellung von betonter maskuliner *-ik*-Endung im Deutschen beseitigt vgl. *M u siker*, *P h y siker*, *K l e riker*, *K r i tiker* (*die Physik*, *Musik* ist anders geartet und auch da betonen Österreicher oft *M u sik*, *P h y sik*)—selbstverständlich stellt sich auch gelegentlich ein *Katholiker* ein. *Katholik* war von vornherein der Kritik des Sprachbewusstseins etwas ausgesetzt gewesen. Die Einebnung dieser Unregelmässigkeit wird besonders leicht vollzogen worden sein, wenn die spöttische Absicht dem Sprecher keine Schonung der Wortgestalt—Lustgewinn is das Resultat jedes Witzes, so auch unserer witzigen Rückbildung—mehr auferlegt. Die Apokope der Endung ist eine Versehrung des Wortkörpers, die symbolisch sein will für die des gemeinten Menschen: *Kathole* ist eine Entstellung des Wortes, die wirkt wie das Abreissen vorspringender Körperteile (Nasen, Ohren) in primitiveren Kulturen. Feinere Naturen vermeiden solche Wortverstümmelung, die eine *capitis diminutio* des Nebenmenschen bedeutet, und so sagen mir auch Gewährsmänner, dass sie *Kathole* nie sagen würden. "So wenig wie *Georgine*" (für Anhänger St. Georges), sagt ein Gewährsmann: man versteht die Gemeinsamkeit der Abneigung: ist es hier das Billig-Wortspielhafte, das zur Verächtlichmachung einer Überzeugung verwendet wird, so dort die billige Wortverkürzung: die Leistung des Spottworts ist gering gegenüber dem Ernst der damit verspotteten Begriffe.

Man stellt sich nun die Frage des Modells. Naheliegend ist ja die Analogie von *Jude*, die sich wie von selbst im Obigen bei der Frage nach dem Wo des Entstehens einstellte. Damit wäre also der *Kathole* mit der Verachtung, der der "Jude" preisgegeben ist, belastet (weil ja die analogische Form die Nuance ihres Analogievorbildes wie eine Art Patengeschenk mitbekommt)? Ich glaube nicht recht daran, weil der *Jude*, wenn auch sozial nicht immer gleich-

berechtigt—wir sprechen von der vorhitlerischen Entstehungszeit unseres Wortes—so doch nicht als geistig minderwertig galt, überhaupt die Obertöne von *Kathole* gar nicht zu denen von *Jude* stimmen (“jüdische Frechheit, Gewinnsucht, Unverschämtheit”). Höchstens die Protektionswirtschaft wäre gemeinsam; aber wieder ist der “katholische Klüngel” ganz anders, viel weniger intellektuell betont gewesen als der jüdische; abgesehen davon dass eher das Adjektiv *jüdisch*, als das Substantiv *Jude*, wenigstens bis zur neuesten Entwicklung (vgl. etwa *Marxisten und Juden* u. dgl.), in Deutschland mit den negativen Obertönen belastet wurde: *er ist Jude* hatte eigentlich nur eine sachlich feststellende Funktion, wohl deshalb, weil die religiös-rassische Toleranz zu tief eingesessen war im deutschen Bewusstsein, als dass man die Zugehörigkeit zu einer Religion oder Rasse als solche negativ hätte bewerten können,<sup>1</sup> während beim Adjektiv *jüdisch* das *-isch* einen viel weiteren Kreis zieht (“juden-artig,” vgl. *kindisch, heldisch* usw.), daher der Pejorativierung viel mehr ausgesetzt war. Es wird dies wohl überhaupt beim Verhältnis von Rassen- Religions- und Gentilbeziehungen zu den von ihnen abgeleiteten Adjektiven und in den verschiedensten Sprachen zu beobachten sein (trotz *ein falscher Pole* etc. ist *polnische Wirtschaft* und dgl. viel häufiger; charakteristisch auch das substantivierte Adjektiv *Schlawiner* für

<sup>1</sup> Ich weiss wohl, dass in einzelnen Gegenden *Jude* auch früher doch so stark belastet war, dass es eines Deckwortes bedurfte: so hiess es in meiner österreichischen Schulzeit immer *die Israeliten* und auch Theodor Mommsen in seiner bekannten Verteidigungsrede für die Juden (1880) gebraucht gelegentlich zur stilistischen Abwechslung *Israeliten* neben *Juden* (Edmond Fleg sagt irgendwo: “On ne dit plus juif aujourd’hui, on dit Israëlite.”) In den Märztagen des Jahres 1933 schrieb eine österreichische Arbeiterzeitung: “Der Antisemitismus Hitlers richtet sich in der Hauptsache gegen arme Juden, wie kleine Angestellte etc. Wenn es sich aber um einen Kommerzienrat oder Bankdirektor handelt, dann wird aus dem Saujuden sehr leicht ein Herr Israëlite.” Die Glaubensgemeinschaft nennt sich ja allenthalben offiziell *Israelitische Kultusgemeinde* (so auch *Israelitischer Friedhof* usw., vgl. *Alliance Israëlite*). Vollends wo das Glaubensbekenntnis gemeint ist, tritt oder trat in Österreich *mosaisch* ein (dies war die normale Eintragung in den Schulzeugnissen). Es ist noch zu bemerken, dass die Dialektform *Jud* (*Jüd, Jid*) den Schimpfwortcharakter in sich polarisiert hat (in der Schweiz, wo ja auch bei Christen der Familienname *Jud* üblich ist, empfindet man ein blosses Schimpfwort—offenbar auf biblischem Grunde—, kaum die Zugehörigkeit zu dem Volksnamen), so dass *Jude* entlastet war und offiziell wirkte.

“Slave”). Nun könnte man gerade von der an *Jude-jüdisch*, *Pole-polnisch* gezeichneten Unterschiedlichkeit ausgehen und folgern: von *katholisch* (das wie die Adjektiva Pejorativität zugänglicher war) ist *Kathole* nach dem Muster der erwähnten Paare gebildet worden: *er ist sehr katholisch* (mit hämischer Gebärde), daher ist er *ein Kathole*. Aber dann versteünde man wieder nicht, warum *Kathole* nicht den objektiven Klang hat, den wir für die substantivischen Vorbilder vindizierten. Ich glaube also, dass *Kathole* gebildet ist, weniger nach *Jude*, als nach den Völkerbezeichnungen wie *Pole*, *Russe*, *Grieche* usw., vor allem nach dem ersten, weil es in Deutschland doch auch negativ klang, weil die Polen katholisch sind und weil der Vorwurf Falschheit und Protektionswirtschaft auch ihnen gegenüber gilt. Die Einreihung einer Religionsbezeichnung in die Reihe der Völkernamen hat vor allem den Effekt, das Fremdartige, Undurchdringliche, Unheimliche sehr zu erhöhen: ein deutscher *Katholik* ist etwas Alltägliches, aber *ein Kathole* lässt an ein ganz anderes Volk, womöglich mit fremder, unverständlicher Sprache (“katholisch”) und Gewohnheiten denken: Der *Katholik*, der in dem “pluralistischen” Staat “für sich totalitär” war, wie C. Schmidt es sieht, war so recht in seiner Abseitshaltung vom Gesamt des Deutschtums gezeichnet. Ein Berliner Bekannter nimmt Anklang an *Mongole* an, was meine Hypothese von der Vergleichung der Katholiken mit einem exotischen Volke stützt. Gerade das Einleuchtende der Bildung macht sie witzig: man wird von ihr gewonnen, bevor man noch den Gedanken der seelischen Distanz, die in der Gleichstellung mit fremdem Volkstum liegt, realisiert hat. Damit ist denn auch die Ausdrucksweise *ein schwerer Kathole* erklärlich, während vielleicht auch *ein schwerer Jude*, aber keinesfalls *ein schwerer Protestant* gesagt werden kann: d. h. N. N. hat etwas von der katholischen Essenz, diesem eigentümlichen und unheimlichen, pseudo-nationalen Fremdtum an sich. Das obenerwähnte Wort *Katholiker* reiht die Religionszugehörigen wieder in eine Berufskategorie ein—derjenigen, deren Beruf es ist, “in Katholizismus zu machen.” Verschiedene meiner akademischen Gewährsmänner legen eine Entstehung in *Universitätskreisen* nahe: *Kathole* habe zuerst die nicht satis faktionsfähigen katholischen Studentenverbindungen bezeichnet, die ironisch von den anderen, schlagenden Verbindungen so genannt worden seien, sei daher von der Einführung der Studenten-

wählen im demokratischen Nachkriegsdeutschland zu datieren und erkläre sich aus einer gesprochenen *Schreibung* in gedruckten Wahllisten: *Kathol.*,—aber daraus ergäbe sich noch immer *der Kathol.*, nicht *der Kathole* und man müsste erst recht Eingliederung in die Gentilnamen und, in diesem Fall, in die als Namen von Verbindungsstudenten dienenden geographischen Herkunftsbezeichnungen (*Borusse*, *Teutone*, *Alemanne* usw.) annehmen. Immerhin, falls diese universitäre Entstehung zu stützen ist, hätten wir den Grund für die ironische Einreihung der Bezeichnung der Religionszugehörigkeit in die Bezeichnungen einer Volkszugehörigkeit: sie wäre durch die universitäre Gleichstellung von nationalen und religiösen Verbindungen (*Borusse > Kathole*) erklärt.

Ich nehme jedenfalls vorläufig an, solang nicht Lügen strafende Texte vorhanden sind, dass *Kathole* eine relativ junge Bildung ist, nicht etwa in die Zeit des Bismarckschen Kulturkampfs hinaufreicht: da sagte man *Römling*, *Ultramontaner* usw. Man beachte z. B. dass der Kulturkampf Bismarck (vgl. *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* II S. 127) mehr durch "seine politische Seite" als durch seine katholische notwendig schien. Ebenda (S. 171) der Ausspruch des Mitbegründers der Zentrumspartei und Altersgenossen Bismarcks, Savigny, der bekannte, die katholische Konfession u. a. gewählt zu haben, weil katholisch doch im Ganzen vornehmer sei; "Protestantisch ist ja jeder dumme Junge." Bismarck bemerkte hiezu: "Heutzutage [Publikation von 1898!] kann man durch die Kundgebung, katholisch zu sein, in keinem Kreise mehr Aufsehen erregen oder auch nur Eindruck machen."

Unsere kleine Abhandlung zeigt den ungeheueren Abstand der Entwicklung desselben Wortes *k a t h o l i c h* in katholischem und protestantischem Land (man vergleiche etwa die deutschen Dialektwörterbücher wie *Schweizer Idiotikon*, Fischer, Martin-Lienhart): gerade das Wort, das den Anspruch des Katholizismus auf Weltgeltung und Universalität ausdrückt (*καθολικός*), sodass in seinem Sinn nichtkatholisch nicht richtig, schlecht bedeuten müsste (vgl. in katholischen Gegenden Schwabens: *da geht's net katholisch zu* "nicht mit rechten Dingen," span. *no estar muy católico* "sich nicht besonders wohl fühlen," *ese vino no es católico* "dieser Wein ist nicht ganz ordentlich"; louisiana-franz. *il n'est pas si catholique aujourd'hui* "er fühlt sich nicht sehr gut," canada-frz. *catholique*

"anständig, ehrenhaft," Read, *Ztschr. f. frz. Spr.* LXI, S. 67), gerade das Wort *katholisch* ist in protestantischem Munde zum exakten Gegenteil geworden. Man kann an Pascal denken: "Plaisante justice qu'une rivière [die Mainlinie!] borne! Vérité au deçà des Pyrénées, erreur au delà!"

Solche gegenwartsnahe Linguistik wie die hier betriebene mögen manche Forscher für überflüssig halten—ich glaube im Gegenteil, dass ihre Schwierigkeit und ihre Problematik uns erst recht die Augen öffnet für die Gefahren einer Jahrhunderte und mehrere Sprachen umspannenden etymologischen Forschung. Vor allem aber ist es nötig, Wörter, die jeder Reichsdeutsche versteht, die aber kein Wörterbuch und vielleicht nicht immer die Literatur buchen wird, für spätere Zeiten festzuhalten und ihre stilistische Schattierung, ihre Verbreitung und Entstehungsweise—kurz ihre lebende Geschichte zu erörtern, bevor es zu spät ist: bevor sie wieder verschwunden oder in die Sprache eingeblendet, d. h. bevor sie tot sind!

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## REVIEWS

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*Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry.* By DOUGLAS BUSH. Harvard Studies in English, XVIII. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Harvard University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 647.

"This book," says the author, "is intended to be complete in itself, though it is a sequel to my *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*. . . . That volume stopped at 1680; this one struggles up to 1935." It contains a list of 900 titles of mythological poems which have come under the author's eye, and another of at least 500 titles of lucubrations—books or articles—which he has turned over. These ample lists confirm his cheerful glimpse, in his Preface, of a little *Anamnestes* "shoveling tons of verse across my table" at the Museum. I note in passing only one omission—at least the item is not mentioned at the most obvious place (p. 156, n. 57)—J. A. Stewart's memorable essay on "Pla-

tonism in English Poetry" in G. S. Gordon's *English Literature and the Classics*.

Keats, Shelley, Tennyson, Morris, Swinburne, have each a private chapter to themselves. Others room together—Coleridge with Wordsworth and Byron; Landor with Arnold; Browning with Meredith; while the chorus, so large that nobody's feelings can possibly be hurt, is distributed in seven spacious dormitory wards. They are, if anything, a little overcrowded with later small fry, whom Mr. Bush had too much heart or conscience to keep out.

The book is the best guide to date for readers who wish to explore, observe, and define the varied and important uses of Greek myth by romantic poets and their successors. A thorough-bass of footnotes, to crib the author's image, sometimes bears the burden of the piece, and is never a mere idle accompaniment.

Readers often think of Greek myth as mere ready-made ornament for works of poetry, a medium for the display of the poet's or editor's learning or pedantry. To the men of Reason and Sense in the "Eighteenth Century" it was little more, a faded, outworn remnant of academic furnishings. This period, therefore, requires but few pages, though these serve well to heighten the glories that reveal themselves in the later poetry. For with the awakening sense of the mystery in Nature and Man, with the earliest romantic stirrings, comes instantly to the poets a new and instinctive recognition of Greek myth as a natural vehicle of expression for their wild surmise. As the Greeks had charged and informed it with their feelings and ideas about birth and death, nature and reality, beauty and destiny and genius, so the new poets found in it living symbols for their own feelings and ideas about these mysteries. Nor was it always so grave a matter. Gaiety and playfulness were also an essential part of the romantic spirit, though rarely so recognized, and the romantic measure often frolics and dances to the tune of a Greek poet, weaving the enchantment of a Greek myth. Keats and Theocritus furnish a case in point.

And while we are on the matter, I do not think that Mr. Bush, nor anyone else, has done justice to Theocritus's service to Keats. To cite a detail: we read that the ode "To Autumn" lies outside our range, though the delicate personifications of the second stanza exhibit Keats's myth-making instinct at its ripest and surest." But that instinct was riper and surer, and the personification more delicate for such acquaintance as Keats had with his poetic next of kin, Theocritus, particularly with the seventh idyll. Indeed the very figure of Autumn is but the Demeter of that idyll, especially as she appears in its closing lines.

And the author rightly recognizes Greek sculpture as an important medium through which Greek myth suffused the imagination of the romantic poets, especially of Shelley and Keats. He fails, however, to present such manifestations as part of a vigorous

tradition, which had been growing through a century and a half under the various cultivation of critic, painter, connoisseur, poet, traveller, iconographer, and archaeologist, as Dr. Stephen A. Larabee's still unpublished studies will show.

Mr. Bush is, of course, not content with mere lists and catalogues. He has set himself to discover and observe the varied uses of Greek myth by these moderns, how it gave them idiom and symbol, helped to make them more articulate and clear, and stirred them to invention of their own. "One main thesis of this book," he explains, "a truism to be sure, is that mythological poetry is alive when myths are re-created, when they carry modern implications, and that mythological poetry in which myths are merely retold is, if not dead, at least of a very inferior order." One of the finest specimens of his workmanship is found in his account of Hartley Coleridge (pp. 186-9). It is learned, sympathetic, vigorous, pertinent, summary, a piece of expert scholarly draughtsmanship, done with a free, unembarrassed stroke. And in general the author has a way of saying things: "As Milton's influence rolled like a tidal wave up the shores of the eighteenth century it deposited everywhere the bleached seaweed of mythology and poetic diction from which the Miltonic life had departed."

It is ordained—wisely no doubt—in scholarship as in life and art, that no man shall sustain his highest pitch for 500 pages, or the equivalent. While he keeps to the main road of his noble theme Mr. Bush sits his Pegasus well; but too often he lapses, like Bellerophon of old, into the Aleian field of general criticism,

Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.

Such passages not only interrupt his journey, but impair the effect of his horsemanship. They are generally irrelevant and sometimes confused or stale, or embarrassed and self-conscious, as if all-judging Jove were looking over his shoulder. This makes the book hard, sometimes exasperating, reading. But its faults, as I see them, are not indigenous. They are only thrown into high relief by its virtues. So I make bold to hope that some day the author may cast a rested eye over the wealth of material which he has here assembled, seize his blue pencil, and do with it what he may find in his heart.

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*Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England: A Study in English Scientific Writing from 1500 to 1645.* By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xv + 357. \$3.25.

In this the first of a series of studies Mr. Johnson proposes on the interconnections between the new science and other important currents of Renaissance thought, Mr. Johnson has centered his attention upon "the changes in astronomical beliefs as they are set forth by the scientific writers of the time, and upon the general attitude toward the aims and methods of science which these writers reveal." The richness of the field in which he has worked is reflected in the chronological list in Appendix A (pp. 301-335) of books dealing with astronomy printed in England from 1480 to 1640. Mr. Johnson lists one hundred titles for the first hundred years of this period, and for each year from 1580 to 1640 at least one title and usually several. Most of the titles in the appendix are followed by a brief critical summary. Long extracts from some of the most interesting and rare books are included in the text both because of their novelty to the present day reader and because of the support they give to Mr. Johnson's main positions.

On the basis of this material Mr. Johnson makes a strong case for the importance, the independence, and the progressiveness of the English workers in astronomy long before the rise of the Royal Society in the middle of the seventeenth century. He makes clear the close interrelations between the thinkers and the craftsmen of that time,—the thinkers writing in the vernacular for the unlearned rather than in the Latin of the schools, and while availing themselves of practical navigating devices worked out on shipboard, in return providing the sailors with improved almanacs and better instruments for navigation. This close alliance between the scientist and the technician was evidently characteristic of England in the sixteenth century not only long before the Industrial Revolution but even before the days of the early Royal Society.

Mr. Johnson has also pushed back into Elizabethan England the genesis of movements hitherto usually linked with the brilliant seventeenth century. He finds evidence under Elizabeth of much cooperation between scientists, of a critical and independent attitude in scientific thinking, and of a striving for a simpler, more direct literary expression of scientific matters a century before Sprat recorded these as aims of the Royal Society. He calls especial attention to the influence, perhaps not hitherto sufficiently noted, of the Gresham College professors who, for sixty years before the Royal Society was chartered, were giving public lectures on science in London and were creating in their living quarters at the College a stimulating forum that could not have failed to help prepare

public opinion to listen at least with an open mind to contemporary scientific novelties. The work of Robert Recorde, of the Digges, father and son, and John Dee he discusses in detail, with that of many other less well-known men. His conclusion that the inductive method with its emphasis upon the value of experiment was characteristic of many writers in astronomical fields in England before Sir Francis Bacon proclaimed it in his books makes one wonder if similar evidence of this scientific spirit could be found in other lines of thought beside astronomy.

To prepare his readers for a proper understanding and appreciation of the achievements of these Elizabethans, Mr. Johnson in the first three chapters of his book traces the history of the pre-Copernican theories of the universe from primitive times and in the fourth discusses the Copernican theory in relation to its contemporary setting. Mr. Johnson is unusually well equipped to present this review intelligently and clearly, for as a graduate of the United States Military Academy, he has a foundation in mathematics and physics that is not the usual equipment of the student either of history or of literature. His later training also (for this book is an expansion of his doctoral dissertation presented at the Johns Hopkins University in 1935 in the department of English) has enabled him to make these early cosmologies seem reasonably "scientific" in the light of their authors' knowledge, and to show wherein they had definite mathematical merit.

This study of course touches upon the fields so ably cultivated by Dr. Marjorie Nicolson and by Professor R. F. Jones, as Mr. Johnson himself recognizes; but in reality it in no way trespasses on their preserves. Rather it supplements and supports their findings by his researches in a slightly earlier period.

The strongest impression derived by the reviewer from this book is the amazing amount of progress that has been made in the history of scientific thought during the past twenty years. Such a thorough-going study in this particular field is only now possible because of the number of workers who have in recent years published the results of their research. Even a cursory glance through Appendix B (pp. 336-345) to note the dates of the secondary works used in its preparation reveals that the great majority of these have appeared in print since the Great War, and that a number of the primary ones have been translated and critically edited only lately. Add to this the fact that the wealth of the Huntington Library where Mr. Johnson worked for two years has been made fully available to scholars only since 1927. Mr. Johnson has begun the development of a rich field promising great usefulness to students of history and of science as well as of literature.

DOROTHY STIMSON

*Goucher College*

*The Discovery of a New World.* (*Mundus alter et idem*) Written originally in Latin by JOSEPH HALL, ca. 1605; Englished by JOHN HEALEY, ca. 1609; Edited by HUNTINGTON BROWN; with a Foreword by RICHARD E. BYRD, Rear Admiral, U. S. N., Ret. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1937. Pp. xxxv + 230. \$3.00.

About one hundred years after Thomas Moore's *Utopia* there appeared in Latin a book called *Mundus alter et idem*. It was an allegorical satire on the imperfections of man and as the title implies it shows that wherever you go, through lands known or unknown, you will always find men equally vicious and foolish. The author who in 1627 became Bishop of Exeter was a learned contemporary of Shakespeare, Bacon, and Jonson, but he had neither the vigor, the insight, or the humor of any of these three and is remembered mostly for his learning, his presumption, and the scorn he showed for his fellowmen. On graduating from Cambridge he published a collection of satires and proudly proclaimed himself the first English satirist, a title he might deserve only if close imitation of Horace, Persius, and Juvenal were to be taken into account.

Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations of the English Nation* had just appeared in a second, much enlarged edition. Rumors of a new continent, larger and much richer than America, were as persistent as they remained vague. This still undiscovered *Terra australis* was supposed to be a huge land mass lying to the south of the recently discovered tips of the African and American continents. What was known in Hall's time of "New Holland" or Australia, as it came to be called only a century ago when all hopes for the discovery of *Terra australis* were given up, was held to be nothing but the northernmost promontory of a much larger land extending all around the South Pole. But all this is of no great importance here although the translator, in calling the work *The Discovery of a New World*, made a more direct allusion to that imaginary land than Hall had done.

The fictitious framework of this geographical satire tells of a traveler who gets to the Austral land and finds that going through its various provinces is like making a survey of human vice and folly. First he reaches the land of gluttony (*Tenter-belly*, divided into *Eat-allia* and *Drink-allia*), next to *Shee-landt* the capital of which is Shrewesbourg. He continues through *Fooliana* to arrive finally in *Theevingen*, the land of robbers. Each province has laws and customs appropriate to the satirical purpose of the author. The laws of *Tenter-belly*, signed by *All-Paunch*, hold "eating but one meale a day for a capital transgression." In Shrewesbourg the women scold and fight while the men do the work and serve at table. All subjects of *Fooliana* live "under the government of

Duke *Swash-buckliero*, the model and Embleme of all tyranny." The *Robberswalders* "eate nothing at all, but live upon the sight only of gold and silver."

Although this work has at times been mentioned as deserving a place between Rabelais and Swift, it really is far from either. It has none of the rollicking humour of the former nor any of the biting sting of the latter. It is just a learned, rather clumsy satire. Mlle Scudéry's *Carte de Tendre* delighted the class of persons for whom it was intended, Bunyan's christian pilgrim appealed both to the learned and to the common people, but Hall's allegory never met with any success, either in Latin or in its English rendering. Some German scholars alone seem to have enjoyed it. The trouble with the book is that the humor is too obvious in many instances and more often too learned. Only a half-baked college boy would enjoy this shallow allegory:

As we passed under the 55. degree beyond the line, we entered into a spacious plaine, the inhabitants named it *Pewter-platteria* . . . it lieth in the very heart of *Eat-allia*, and the first city we met within this tract was *Victuallu*, through the midst of which there passeth a river called *Sauce*, whose water is somewhat tart to the taste.

Add to this the cumbrous marginal notes and the pretention of the author to have you read three times this work

ere you shalbe able to make any exact platform of it: Once for *Strabo*, once for *Socrates*, and once for *Merlin Cocaius*; The first for the *Geography*, the second for the *Morality*, and the third for the *Language and Etymology*.

Apparently there were but few who read far enough to come to this final recommendation.

Mr. Huntington Brown has given us an excellent and very scholarly edition of this work. However it seems to me that there are especially two classes of books which deserve a careful edition: those that had formerly a great success, influenced later works and are now neglected and those that passed unnoticed at the time, but now seem very valuable to us. The *Discovery* falls in neither of these classifications and in spite of the respect I have for this model edition it would be hard to recommend it to any one unless he were interested in the queer productions of a past age. Even though the satire itself is as much lacking in interest for the modern reader as it seems to have been for Hall's contemporaries, the framework at least has preserved a semblance of actuality. *Captain Cooks Travels* indeed put an end to the old hypothesis of a huge Austral continent but the recent explorations of Rear Admiral Byrd in Antarctica have reawakened an interest in all works dealing, even remotely, with the former *Terra australis*. It seems quite fitting therefore that he should have written a foreword to this edition which is dedicated to him.

EMANUEL VON DER MÜHLL

Wilson College

*Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate United States, with Notes on Herman Melville.* Edited by CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON. With eleven water colors from the Journal of William H. Meyers. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1937. Pp. vi + 143. \$2.50.

This well printed and attractive volume is composed of material from three sources. Its text is an account of the cruises of the frigate *United States* between the years 1842 and 1844, by an unidentified author, possibly an ordinary seaman, George W. Wallace, or a private of the marines, George W. Weir. The manuscript is now in the Library of the Navy Department at Washington. The illustrations are reproduced from water colors executed during the cruises of the American squadron in the Pacific in the same years, by William H. Meyers, a gunner on the sloop-of-war *Cyane*. Meyers's manuscript is in the possession of the Honorable Nelson B. Gaskill, of Washington. Liberal quotations from it are given in Appendix C of the book. The excellent introduction and notes are supplied by Dr. Anderson, of Duke University, to whose forthcoming *Herman Melville in the South Seas* the work is a sort of extended appendix.

The interest of the *Journal of a Cruise* arises from several facts. First, for fourteen months, the anonymous diarist was a shipmate of Herman Melville on board the *United States*. His narrative is, therefore, of value as affording some firsthand information as to the amount of truth which the novelist put into *White Jacket*—his story of the voyage of the frigate from Callao to the United States. In the next place, there is an interesting account of Commodore T. Ap Catesby Jones's little-known war with Mexico, in the course of which that officer captured Monterey, only to surrender it to the Mexicans two days later. Finally, there is the evidence afforded by the journalist of the *United States* and by Gunner Meyers of the *Cyane* that Herman Melville was not the only enlisted man in Commodore Jones's squadron to have artistic ambitions.

Wallace, Weir, or whatever his name was, had not much besides literary aspirations: his all too frequent attempts at fine writing are distinctly bad. When he forgets his style, however, as in his description of the cooper's death (pp. 56-57), he is comparatively stirring. Meyers—whose *Journal of a Three Years' Cruise* will stand printing *in toto*—was evidently somewhat more sophisticated than the anonymous writer, and there is a certain mordancy in some of the passages quoted from his manuscript which is quite effective. His water colors, too, as Dr. Anderson says, although showing crudeness, do give evidence of talent. His "Cachucha in Peru" (p. 46) conveys completely the grace and spirit of the dance.

Dr. Anderson's introduction and notes are full and informative.

In truth, he has presented here what is as yet the best preface to Melville's *White Jacket* that has appeared. There are, however, certain points concerning which this reviewer must differ from Dr. Anderson. Surely the novelist's account in *White Jacket* (chap. XVII) of the loss overboard of the cooper is among the powerful scenes of the novel; yet, as Dr. Anderson's diarist proves (pp. 56-57), the episode was not invented. A comparison of the two narratives shows that actually Melville here was cleaving to literalness.

Further particulars concerning the Professor of Mathematics on board the *United States* might well have been given by Dr. Anderson in his note upon that officer (pp. 129-130). Henry Hayes Lockwood's career was an interesting one and his record in the Civil War was not undistinguished. It might be more accurate to say that when he was mustered out of the army, he was a brigadier-general of volunteers. In note 55 (p. 132), Captain Lord Byron's title is incorrectly given. The commander of the *Blonde* did not bear a courtesy title, but was a peer. Also it was the second Kamehameha, not the first, who, with his queen, died of measles in 1824, while in England. Kamehameha I was the great King of the Hawaiian Islands who died in 1819.

Melville and his nine companions were confined on board *La Reine Blanche*, in Papeete harbor, for three days rather than five, as Melville says in *Omoo* and as Dr. Anderson repeats in note 67 (p. 136). This reviewer has discussed the question in his "Herman Melville in Tahiti" (*PQ.*, xvi [Oct., 1937], 351-2), where he advances what he thinks is strong external evidence against Melville's statement. No doubt this article appeared too late for Dr. Anderson to refer to it in his book. It seems that Dr. Anderson is over-cautious in his allusion to the length of Melville's stay among the Typees (note 69, p. 136). The term of the American's captivity was nearer four weeks than four months, as the present writer has demonstrated in his "Herman Melville in the Marquesas" (*PQ.*, xv [Jan., 1936], 10-11).

On the other hand, it is comforting to see that Dr. Anderson does not accept the old legends as to the use of *White Jacket* as propaganda in favor of the bill to abolish flogging in the United States Navy (p. 8). The reviewer has never found any support for Admiral S. R. Franklin's story, in his *Memories of a Rear-Admiral* (p. 64), of a copy of the book's having been given to every member of Congress as an argument for the bill. That the novel was admirably timed as to publication, there can be no doubt; and that the controversy over corporal punishment in the navy must have done something to help the sales of *White Jacket* seems certain, since its publishers were advertising it as in its fifth thousand on April 13, 1850, about three weeks after it had appeared in America.

The slips in Dr. Anderson's book are not very important and

they are few. He has done a careful job of editing and has fitted together material from various sources in an extremely workman-like fashion. The result is a distinct contribution to American literary and naval history. In conclusion, it may be said that the contents are made accessible through an excellent index.

ROBERT S. FORSYTHE

*The Newberry Library*

*Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns.* By WALTER CLYDE CURRY.

Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 244. \$2.75.

Partisans of Santayana's belief that "Shakespeare is remarkable among the greater poets for being without a philosophy and without a religion"<sup>1</sup> will find Professor Curry's book in divers ways annoying. They may protest against so sweeping a title for a volume of six essays, four of which confine themselves to *Macbeth*; and they may object that one of them, "Tumbling Nature's Germens," though it is a brilliant study in semantics—expanding Theobald's suggestion that "*Nature's germens* are 'seeds of matter' by reference to the conception in mediaeval metaphysics of the *rationes seminales*, or *logoi spermatikoi*, which in this passage Shakespeare probably had in mind" (p. 31)—is, after all, only a footnote. The gap between the 'seminal reasons' as they appear in Marcus Aurelius, Saint Augustine, and Cornelius Agrippa and Shakespeare's 'seeds of matter' is not bridged, as it might and probably should be by recognition of their counterparts undergoing transformation into the stuff of poetry in the "Infinite shapes of creatures" of which, in Spenser's Garden of Adonis,

euyer sort is in a sundry bed  
Set by it selfe, and ranckt in comely rew:  
Some fit for reasonable soules t'indew,  
Some fit for beasts, some made for birds to weare,  
And all the fruitfull spawne of fishes. . . . (III, vi, 35, 1-7.)<sup>2</sup>

The unity of the essays on *Macbeth* with the study of *The Tempest* in the sixth and last chapter depends upon Professor Curry's proof that, because they have "control over the primary elements of nature, the *rationes seminales*," "the Weird Sisters are demons or devils in the form of witches" (p. 60). Of their demonic

<sup>1</sup> *Interpretations of Poetry and Religion*, New York, 1918, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> In "Spenser's Garden of Adonis," *PMLA.*, XLVII, 58-60, Mrs. J. W. Bennett effectively relates this passage to the Neo-Platonism which is the subject of Professor Curry's fifth chapter.

quality in the encounter with Macbeth and Banquo, as men imagined the scene when it was first acted, the reviewer has had no doubt since discovering Burton's assertion that "the three strange women" who told their fortunes to the "two Scottish Lords, . . . as they were wandering in the woods," were such "as *Egeria*, with whom *Numa* was familiar, *Diana*, *Ceres*, etc."<sup>3</sup> Professor Curry argues that in both *Macbeth* and *Tempest* we have dramas founded upon the power of daemons to control physical nature. Macbeth's tragedy is his surrender to daemonic solicitings, while Prospero's spiritual triumph is the counterpart of his mastery of the daemonic virtues represented by Ariel.

Macbeth's relation to his supernatural background is better handled than Prospero's. His tragedy is intensified when we are convinced that Lady Macbeth literally meant what she said when she bade the "spirits that tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here." When we find Professor Stoll's arguments against morbid hallucination as the explanation of Banquo's ghost confirmed by evidence that its origin is demonic and when we are persuaded that the dagger in the air and the cry, "Macbeth does murder sleep," are caused by "ultimately demonic powers" (p. 84), the hero's character is clarified. Schücking's diagnosis of it as merely pathological is drastically modified. Yet Professor Curry does not overstate his case. Macbeth remains for him an artistic rather than a philosophical creation.

In the Christian view of evil his study finds the basis of an "exact analysis" (p. 112) of Macbeth's disintegration. The part played in that process by remorse may owe more to Senecan and religious drama than it does to the Scholastic doctrine of potency and act (p. 120) and its corollary that "as a man deteriorates toward evil" conscience "accuses and torments," under which we find Macbeth's passing from good to evil specifically classified. Sometimes Professor Curry's reasoning bears the stamp of the Scholasticism which he insists was in Shakespeare's time "a primary groundwork of traditional cognition" (p. 20). Yet his case is good. Investigators like Willard Farnham and L. B. Wright have shown that the period was "an age of faith, a faith still almost as profound as that of the Middle Ages."<sup>4</sup> Professor Curry's work on two plays should be pushed further. Yet perhaps, instead of confining attention to remote origins like the *Summa Theologica* and the writings of Iamblichus, and supposing that the more immediate "sources of these dramatic instances may be safely left to . . . exponents of comparative literature" (p. 198), future re-

<sup>3</sup> *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, London, 1926, Bohn's Library, Vol. I, p. 219, Part I, Sect. ii, Mem. 1, Subs. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England*, Chapel Hill, 1935, p. 229.

search should also try to trace the transformation of the ideas of the Dark and Middle Ages into the stuff of the poetry of the Renaissance.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES

*The University of Wisconsin*

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*I, William Shakespeare, Do Appoint Thomas Russell, Esquire.* By LESLIE HOTSON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. Pp. 296. \$3.00.

*Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors: 1632-1685.* By MATTHEW W. BLACK and MATTHIAS A. SHAABER. New York: Modern Language Association of America; London: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xii + 420. \$3.00.

*Ben Jonson.* Vol. v. Edited by C. H. HERFORD and PERCY SIMPSON. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 556. \$7.00.

*Wm. Hawkins' Apollo Shroving.* Edited by HOWARD GARRETT RHOADS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1936. Pp. vi + 202.

*The Dramatic Works of Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery.* Edited by WILLIAM SMITH CLARK, II. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937. 2 vols. Pp. xvi + viii + 966. \$10.00.

*Plays and the Theater.* Edited by RUSSELL THOMAS. Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1937. Pp. viii + 730. \$1.68.

*Representative Modern Dramas.* Edited by CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xviii + 1122. \$3.50.

Shakespeare bequeathed £5 to Russell, identified by Professor Hotson as a well-connected gentleman long resident near Stratford. A sister-in-law of his married a brother of Henry Willoughby, putative author of *Avisa* and friend of that experienced amorist "W. S." This marriage and other links between Russells and Willoughbys appeal to Mr. Hotson as clinching the identification of "W. S." with Shakespeare, enabling us to "catch the forward wits of the university seeking his company" at Oxford in 1594. *Non probatum* is the only possible verdict, but it does not in the least detract from the interest and charm of Mr. Hotson's

latest report on his adventures among the records. Once more his notes are extraordinarily successful in recapturing bits of the Elizabethan milieu. Less convincing still is the argument that "Shakespeare's friendship with Russell makes it more unlikely than ever that the 'Mr. W. H.' of the *Sonnets* is to be looked for in William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke." In 1616 Shakespeare names Russell overseer of his will. A quarter of a century earlier Russell's stepfather, Sir Henry Berkeley, had a quarrel with William Herbert's father. It lasted till 1601, but it has no evidential value for the point at issue. Other chapters are devoted to attempts to reconstruct Shakespeare circles in Stratford and London. It can not be said that membership has in any case, even Russell's, been proved; but there are several plausible suggestions and, above all, fascinating glimpses in their habits as they lived of a number of persons who were certainly the poet's contemporaries and may have been his friends.

Like the singed cat, the second book on our list is better than it looks. The format is amateurishly designed, and my review copy is inexpertly bound; but in presenting a by-product of their work for the revived New Variorum edition, Professors Black and Shaaber make an important contribution, the very title of which is a challenge. "The germ of this study was an impression, formed independently by the authors during the collation of the early texts of certain of Shakespeare's plays, that the second, third, and fourth folios contained more strikingly good emendations than we would have expected in mere publisher's reprints." The authors thereupon undertook the task of collecting and classifying all the folio variants. While it remains true that Ff 2, 3, 4 completely lack textual authority, Messrs. Black and Shaaber rightly assert that their "principles of discrimination between editorial corrections and non-literal typographical errors (principles which, though not original with us, have seldom, if ever, been tested by application to so large a body of data)" may now be applied to variants in the earlier and more authoritative texts with a greater degree of confidence than deliberate corrections and printing-house accidents can be distinguished. No editor of Shakespeare can safely neglect this study, which is all the more convincing because it presents the evidence in full. While none of the correctors of the three later folios was a Greg, the authors conclude that a textual criticism was practiced and that it produced, not mere imperfect reprints of F 1, but critical editions of a sort, as much entitled to be called such as Rowe's or indeed any of the eighteenth-century performances prior to Capell's.

Another noble Oxford Jonson volume joins its predecessors—the noblest perhaps, for it contains two of the greatest glories of English drama in *Volpone* and *The Alchemist*. The frontispiece reproduces a recent acquisition of the National Portrait Gallery.

Four pages give additional notes and corrections to the fourth volume. In the second category a substantial number are credited to Dr. George W. Whiting, who reviewed that volume for this journal (*MLN.*, XLVIII, 472-3).

Twenty-eight pages of Dr. Rhoads's dissertation are devoted to the life of the Rev. Mr. Hawkins, Cambridge M. A. and school-master-curate in Suffolk, and fifty-seven to introducing the comedy he wrote for his boys at Hadleigh. Like the masterpieces of Aeschylus, it was designed for a single performance, on Shrove Tuesday of 1627. The editor does not maintain that its obscure history has greatly cheated the gaiety of nations. But the piece has served his purpose well; and he has served the piece better than of itself it deserves, setting forth text, introduction, and notes in sound and scholarly fashion. Not that *Apollo Shroving* always bores. Though much of the humor is painfully academic, occasional touches are faintly reminiscent of Lyly's juvenile smartness or the hilarious impudence of Jonson. As Mr. Rhoads observes, the play's chief interest springs from its reflection of Caroline schoolboy life.

Professor Clark's stately volumes bring to an impressive conclusion his labors on Orrery, to which attention has already been directed by a valuable series of articles. This is exactly the procedure which should be followed by every qualified investigator in the field of Restoration drama. Much has been done, but we are still sadly in need of editions. As with the Elizabethan dramatists, these are much better produced, not as doctoral dissertations, but after additional years of experience in cultivating the field. Mr. Clark's performance is full-length—with carefully constructed texts, handsome illustrations, facsimile title-pages, a general historical preface, another devoted to critical matters, short introductions to the several plays, 58 pages of explanatory notes, 120 of textual ones, an appendix reproducing some MS jottings on the Earl by his great-grandson, and a bibliography of the dramatic works of this pioneer Heroic playwright. The special merits of the editor's contribution reside in its thoroughness, in his revision of the Orrery canon, in his textual use of MSS as well as the old editions, in his intimate knowledge of Restoration staging, in his additions to the biographical facts, in his re-examination of that vexing question the origins of the Heroic genre, and in his ability to make good his claim that the Earl was a more important figure, both politically and as a writer, than has hitherto been recognized. This is a book for drama students in particular and, since Mr. Clark has kept it interesting and the Harvard University Press has given it a format almost on the Heroic scale, for bibliophiles in general.

The attractive and compact volume edited by Mr. Thomas contains a dozen plays, seven of them illustrating European drama

from the Greeks through Ibsen, the rest (with one exception) contemporary American pieces. The introductory material is simple and sensible.

The late Professor Whitman's exceptionally well-selected series of twenty-three plays, Continental, English, Irish, and American, begins with *The Wild Duck* and ends with *Biography*. The introductory notes are excellent.

HAZELTON SPENCER

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*Hudibras in the Burlesque Tradition.* By EDWARD AMES RICHARDS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1937. Pp. x + 184. \$2.50. (Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature, 127.)

Mr. Richards's treatise falls into three parts: (1) Butler's milieu and *Hudibras*; (2) political poems in imitation of *Hudibras*; (3) certain non-political burlesque compositions inspired by Butler. I have found Mr. Richard's first two chapters, in which he studies Butler's opinions and their expression in *Hudibras*, the most interesting and provocative, and I shall confine my remarks to them. One may begin by asking what Butler's religious opinions were. Mr. Richards holds that he "owned a sincere religion, part agnostic, part deistic . . ." (p. 5). Pursuing this line, Mr. Richards comes quite naturally to the conclusion that *Hudibras*, so far from expressing the Anglican point of view, might—save for other considerations—have satirized the Anglicans (p. 19).

The matter is, it seems to me, an important one. For in Butler there is emerging the rationalistic point of view; does this rationalism exhibit an inevitable and consistent "agnostic" bent? While it is true that Butler's interests were preponderantly secular and that much that is most characteristic of his thought has independent philosophy as background, I do not think it accurate to say that in his religious discussion he was an "agnostic." Perhaps the best key to those sections of the *Miscellaneous Observations* headed "Religion" and "Reason" is the Anglican divinity of the period. Take, for instance, Butler's paragraph (*Characters and Passages from Note-Books*, ed. Waller, p. 338) beginning "Faith can determine nothing of Reason, but Reason can of Faith. . . ." Apropos of this Mr. Richards writes: "[Butler] will have nothing to do with religious truth come at by any kind of revelation but that achieved through the cautious processes of the mind" (p. 9). Yet did not Butler write (*Characters and Passages*, p. 313), ". . . Christs Residence here [was] to convert, and convince the world, by the greatest of all Reasons Tru Miracles. . . ."? In both places, Butler's position is similar to that of the contemporary

Anglican divine defining "the grounds of the credibility" of his faith. It would not do to say that Butler's rationalism everywhere paralleled the rationalism of the Anglican divines. But it did sometimes. There were different kinds of rationalism.

It is inevitable that as yet no two students of Butler are at one. Though one may here and there disagree with him, Mr. Richards has seen more of the problems involved than have many who have written about the author of *Hudibras*.

RICARDO QUINTANA

*The Huntington Library*

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*Charles Kingsley 1819-1875.* By MARGARET FARRAND THORP. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. viii + 212. \$3.00.

This book reflects sound scholarship and careful research. Mrs. Thorp has had access to new and valuable material, which has not, however, overwhelmed her. Here is a full portrait of Kingsley and a rich account of Victorian life, but all is given with a fine economy. The main narrative stands in clear relief above details deftly handled.

It is indeed well that this scholarly book has at the same time kept its life, because in Charles Kingsley some vital principle seems to have come into its own as he raced through energetic days. When young he wanted to be a soldier. *The Faerie Queene*, which, to the end of his life, was his favorite book, had filled his mind with legends of chivalry that to him seemed possible even in the nineteenth century. Kingsley became the muscular champion of Belief—belief in God, in nobility of heart, in the English workman, in a Christian social order, in literature, in sanitation, in 'Education for character,' in exercise, and in the very gypsies who thought of Eversley as their parish church. His belief was so sure and full of health that mysticism was merely an annoyance. His own theology he always attributed to Maurice, but masses of his countrymen cared not about its source. In Kingsley they had one who in his youth had endured terror-stricken dreams and who had shared their doubts in an age of change. In his vigorous triumph they found their own philosophy and ease. They gave confidence to this man who made religion an affair of earth, who rushed abruptly from his pulpit on a Sunday morning and, leaving his curate to finish the service, leapt in all his robes over the church-yard palings to help put out a heath fire.

Mrs. Thorp appraises her vital hero with great care. We see the limitations of Kingsley's mind and art, his short-comings in his controversy with Newman, and—what is much to the point—his 'charité intellectuelle beaucoup trop large.' We catch glimpses of

Kingsley's copious memory with its vigorous inaccuracy and of his appallingly successful marriage. But never once do we lose sight of the 'fluent English gentleman' who, born in the same year as Queen Victoria, later became her chaplain and Macmillan's most profitable novelist.

Mrs. Thorp adds a valuable bibliography of Kingsley's works, identifying reviews, articles, and poems which were published anonymously in various magazines.

HOWARD F. LOWRY

*The College of Wooster*

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*Beowulf and the Seventh Century; Language and Content.* By RITCHIE GIRVAN. London: Methuen and Co., 1935. Pp. 86. 3 sh. 6 d. (Methuen's Old English Library.)

*Beowulf.* Edited by W. J. SEDGEFIELD. Third edition, revised and partly re-written. Manchester: at the University Press, 1935. Pp. xlivi + 250. 10 sh. 6 d.

*Beowulf and the Seventh Century* comprises three lectures delivered by Professor Girvan at University College, London, in March, 1935, entitled respectively "The Language," "The Background," and "Folk-Tale and History." The first of these lectures is a statement in rather general terms of the linguistic peculiarities of the *Beowulf* text, with conclusions drawn therefrom as to the date of writing of the poem. On the linguistic evidence, Professor Girvan would date the writing of *Beowulf* about 680-700, or somewhat earlier than the generally accepted opinion. It is a pity that this part of the book could not have been rewritten for publication, since the discursive style of oral delivery and the paucity of illustrative examples combine to reduce the value to the reader of Professor Girvan's very acute reasoning. As it is, the reader must take many of his generalizations on faith. The danger of generalizing, even in small details, in so complicated a field as this is well illustrated by the statement (p. 19) that "the word *hild*, feminine *jō*-stem, has two combining forms, *hilde-* and *hild-*, the latter only before a short syllable but always there"—a generalization which obviously fails to take into account the form *hildegicel* in l. 1606. There are other cases in which a few illustrative forms would be desirable, as for example in the discussion of inorganic vowels on p. 18. Such difficulties naturally do not hold for the other two sections of the book, which present the results of a good deal of independent thinking on the problems at issue. Professor Girvan believes, in the first place, that *Beowulf* cannot be accepted as a guide to the life and manners of the migration period, or of any

period of history prior to the time of composition of the poem, that is, the late seventh century. In support of this view, he calls on a great variety of archaeological and other cultural evidence, including a number of striking analogies from Old English history and culture which heretofore have not been sufficiently regarded. In the second place, he affirms his belief not only in the accuracy of the poet's knowledge regarding Geatish history (which has long been taken as a matter of course), but also in the historicity of Beowulf as king of the Geats (p. 82). The usual arguments against the historicity of Beowulf, such as the non-alliteration of his name, Professor Girvan is inclined to minimize; and with regard to the miraculous nature of Beowulf's exploits, he compares the fantastic exploits of King Richard I in the thirteenth-century romance devoted to him (p. 75). As an explanation of the poet's knowledge of Geatish history, which has no counterpart in the Scandinavian tradition, he suggests the possibility that after the fall of the Geatish kingdom in the sixth century a number of exiled Geats settled in Northumbria, bringing historical memories with them. Some of this may seem very far-fetched, and Professor Girvan himself is far from dogmatic in the assertion of his opinions; but his book, as an honest and unprejudiced attempt to reconcile the inconsistent and often baffling evidence, deserves earnest consideration from every student of the poem.

A new edition of Sedgefield's *Beowulf* is an event of importance in Old English circles. The second edition appeared as long ago as 1913, and, as we might expect, the new third edition has been carefully revised. The manuscript has been freshly collated, and a number of the readings in Zupitza's collotype edition have been corrected. In particular, Zupitza's statement that parts of folio 179 had been "freshened up by a later hand" is shown to be untrue. A large number of conjectural emendations have been introduced into the text, some of which have already appeared in print (*MLR.* xxvii, 448 ff.; xxviii, 226 ff.) and need not be noticed here. Among the new emendations which seem especially worthy of consideration are *eateles* ('the horrible or savage one') *at ende*, l. 224; *þat hē on heape* (for MS. *heoðe*) *gestōd*, l. 494; *dēap* (for MS. *deop*) *gedīgan*, 'escape death,' l. 2549; and *wōþe* (for MS. *wope*) *bewunden*, l. 3146. The two old cruces in ll. 1107 and 2577 Professor Sedgefield has handled anew with characteristic energy: in l. 1107 he reads *andlicge* ('lying stored') *gold*, in l. 2577 *mid egelāfe* (for MS. *incge lafe*), both of which readings have the great advantage of giving appropriate sense with little sacrifice of palaeographical probability. So much for the textual innovations. Large sections of the introduction have been rewritten, and most of the notes have been revised to embody the results of recent scholarship. The antiquated treatment of Old English versification which appeared in the second edition has been happily

replaced by a revision of the excellent summary of the subject in the *Anglo-Saxon Verse Book*. In closing, it is of interest to note that since the publication of the *Verse Book* in 1922, Professor Sedgefield has given up the term "Anglo-Saxon" and has gone back to "Old English," as in the earlier editions of the *Beowulf*.

ELLIOTT VAN KIRK DOBBIE

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*Tragödie und Komödie im dramatischen Schaffen Lessings* von

HANS REMPEL. (Neue Forschung, Arbeiten zur Geistesgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker, Bd. 26.)  
Berlin: Junker und Dünnhaupt, 1935.

Ausgehend von einem Protest gegen Schlegel, der Lessings Dramatik nur als Schöpfung seines kritischen Verstandes, nicht als Dichterwerk angesehen habe, stellt diese Untersuchung sich die Aufgabe) die innere Geschlossenheit von Lessings Entwicklung als Dramatiker vom *Jungen Gelehrten* bis zum *Nathan* aufzuziehen. Rempel weist nach, dass die Einwirkung von Lessings kritischem Denken auf sein dramatisches Schaffen unter Schlegels Einfluss gewöhnlich überschätzt wird. Von Wert ist ferner, ausser vielen treffenden Einzelbemerkungen, der Nachweis, dass bestimmte Lessingsche Eigenart sich in den Komödien wie in den Tragödien sehr ähnlich ausprägt. Andrerseits ist Rempel der Gefahr, die naturgemäß in seiner Problemstellung liegt, nicht entgangen: im Eifer des Beweisens wird der von Lessing selber zugegebene und eigentlich auch aus Rempels Darlegungen hervorgehende Tatbestand verwischt, dass Lessing eben doch nicht ein Dichter ist.

In einer allzu festen Gedankenbahn bewegt sich Rempel noch in einer anderen Richtung. Tragödie und Komödie sind ihm "zwei fremde, unvereinbare Welten," dass sie "dem gleichen dichterischen Gestaltungsvermögen entspringen, gehört zu dem erstaunlichen und unbegreiflichen Tatsachen in der Welt des schöpferischen Geistes." Die Frage nach dem Wesen des Tragischen liege dem Menschen von Natur näher, der Begriff dess Komischen umfasse sehr heterogene geistige Gegebenheiten. "Ein Gedanke der Vergleichung war so lange unmöglich, als man unter dem Komischen kaum mehr als das Burleske und das Witzigkomische verstand." Schon diese Einleitungsgedanken des Buches zeigen—and die zwei ersten Kapitel bestätigen es—that eigentlich das Komische dem Verfasser eine fremde Welt ist (wie so vielen ernsthaften Forschern), dass Burleske, Groteske und herhaftes, zwerchfellerschütterndes Lachen nicht in ihrer ins Tiefe gehenden Lebensfülle erkannt und anerkannt werden.

Dieser Mangel—darf man ihn typisch für gelehrte Arbeit nennen.

nen?—wird besonders deutlich, wenn Rempel *Minna von Barnhelm* als Vollendung von Lessings dramatischer Kunst behandelt. Er sieht diese Vollendung nicht in dem leichten, freien Durcheinander der Intrigen und Figuren, sondern im Konflikt Tellheim-Minna und in seiner Lösung durch die innere Entwicklung der beiden; hier liege ein "Erlebniskomplex" Lessings zugrunde: ihm sei "im Treiben des Siebenjährigen Krieges das Irrationale, schlechthin Unlösbare des Lebens entgegengetreten"—"jetzt ringt der Dichter im Stück selbst um Entscheidung" u. s. w.—O weh, wie ernsthaft!—Kein Wunder, dass Rempel an den stärksten komischen Effekten vorbeisieht, wenn er zum Beispiel die Figur des Wirtes als "stärker in der alten Lustspieltradition verhaftet" bezeichnet und ebenso Franziska, die nur in den Szenen mit Werner "an Tiefe" gewinne. Mit einer solchen Interpretation dürfte gerade dem Dichter Lessing kaum ein guter Dienst erwiesen sein. Und soweit die Briefe aus der Breslauer und im Vergleich dazu die aus der Leipziger Zeit uns Lessings Bild noch heute lebendig machen können, erscheint auch von dieser Seite eine stärkere weltanschauliche Erschütterung des Dichters der *Minna* als eine Konstruktion.

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*Les Idées Traditionalistes en France, De Rivarol à Charles Maurras.* By ALPHONSE V. ROCHE. Urbana, 1937. Pp. 235. \$2.50. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. xxi, No. 1-2.

Students of literary history are already indebted to Mr. Roche for his interesting study, *Le Mot traditionalisme* in *MLN.*, for March, 1937. The emergence of a new word of this type is for the literary historian a significant fact. It indicates the date at which a movement becomes self-conscious. In that article Mr. Roche found that the word *traditionaliste* first occurred in 1849 and the word *traditionalisme* in 1851. The reader will find in this volume many additional incidental facts which will increase his indebtedness to Mr. Roche. He has done so much to add to our factual information that the reviewer finds with regret that the total effect of this study is disappointing. This is all the more regrettable since the *Introduction* and three of the concluding chapters, *X. Charles Maurras (Notice biographique)*, *XI. Charles Maurras (La Doctrine de l'Ordre)*, *XII. Charles Maurras (Purgation du Langage)*, are, to say the least, acceptable contributions. The intervening chapters on *Les Philosophes (1789-1850 environ)*: *Les Sociologues et le Positivisme: Les Continuateurs du Positivisme*; *Taine, Renan, Fustel de Coulanges: Les Historiens libéraux et la*

*Mystique révolutionnaire: Economistes, Littérateurs, Critiques, Journalistes, Le Regionalisme: Le Régionalisme (suite): Les Théoriciens du Traditionalisme moderne: Nationalisme et Traditionalisme (Barrès et Maurras)*, add little or nothing to our understanding of the problem. This would seem to indicate that the methods employed by Mr. Roche were not sufficient to explain Maurras and his school. To put it bluntly, he has invoked the methods of literary history to solve a problem which is not primarily a problem of literary history. It is far more a problem of political history and political events and pressures must be given more attention than is here accorded to them.

Any one who considers the implications involved in the succession of chapter headings given above and Mr. Roche's conclusion that in the work of Charles Maurras and the writers of the Action Française "sont venus converger *tous* les courants traditionalistes du siècle," will naturally imagine that Maurras is the logical outcome of a movement in French literary history and that many of the important French men of letters somehow fit into his particular group and school. The contrary is considerably nearer the truth. It goes without saying that in the work of Maurras the *courants traditionalistes* SELON MAURRAS converge. When Mr. Roche tries to tell us that the general *traditionaliste* currents in French literary history converge in Maurras, he is doing violence to the facts, even the facts presented by himself. This accounts for so much that is disconcerting in Mr. Roche's interesting volume. The author should have told us how important is this traditionalist (*selon Maurras*) movement in literary history. If a group of students of contemporary literature were asked, for instance, to name the five most important novelists of the past twenty years in France, most of their lists would include Proust, Bourget, Anatole France, Gide, and Mauriac. Of them all only one, Bourget, could be claimed by the Maurras school and his best work was done before that school really began. Mauriac, so far as religion is concerned, is decidedly on the side of French tradition. Oddly enough, his name is never even mentioned in Mr. Roche's study. Are we to conclude that Mauriac, Gide, Proust, and France are outside the French literary tradition? Or is Maurras's *traditionalisme* something arbitrarily invented for an ulterior purpose that has relatively little to do with literary history?

This question raised in the reader's mind by the exclusion of names like Mauriac's will not be dispelled by considering other authors whom he tries to fit into this frame. We can mention only two of them: Barrès and Charles Péguy. Both of them are Catholic but neither is, politically speaking, counter-revolutionary, which is the essence of the Maurras movement. Barrès never accepted the royalist program and objected to Maurras's excluding from the French literary tradition poets like Gautier and Baudelaire.

Péguy, a devout Catholic, felt himself a member of *le peuple* and was proud of the fact. All the king's horses and all the king's men could not have dragged him into becoming a member of the *camelots du roi* of the *Action Française*. To attempt to bring him into Maurras's group is again to do violence to all the facts even as given by Mr. Roche. Mr. Roche is undoubtedly right in telling us that "*l'historien le plus honni des traditionalistes*" is Michelet. Yet, oddly enough, if we look for Péguy's literary ancestry he will not be found to spring from the "traditionaliste" genealogical tree here established. He is in many aspects of his work a descendant of Michelet's.

These incongruities are nowhere more evident than in the case of Maurras himself. This leader of the Catholic and royalist movement is an unbeliever excommunicated by the Church. That is why many Catholic writers like Mauriac do not belong to his school. Maurras himself is not the spiritual son of Bossuet or Pascal. He does not go back to de Maistre and de Bonald who are the reputed fathers of the traditionalist movement. His literary ancestors seem to be Anatole France, for whom he cannot entirely conceal his respect, and Voltaire. He holds that if the Catholic Church had not existed it would have behooved Maurras to invent it. This is ingenious and Voltairean but does not make for the soundest traditionalism. A valid study of ALL the important traditional elements in contemporary French literature cannot afford to begin, as Mr. Roche tells us his did, with a study of Maurras and work back. The school of Maurras, as we saw, is not in the first instance a product of French literary history. It is, as even Mr. Roche admits in his introduction, a product of political discontents. Mr. Roche rendered a service in tracing the history of the word *traditionaliste*. Later research may discover other isolated instances. He has, however, clearly established that the idea takes its *essor* in 1849. Both in his article and in his volume he fails to draw a conclusion which would seem inescapable. The traditionalist agitation or movement evidently took its rise as a result of the Revolution of February and the founding of the Second French Republic. Mr. Roche is also aware that the defeat of France in 1871 had much to do with changing the outlook of Taine, Renan, and Fustel de Coulanges. The Dreyfus Affaire however is the most important factor in the period of Maurras's *formation*. It is to political phenomena of this type rather than to literary history and the ideas of de Maistre, Rivarol, and de Bonald that we must look for more light on the traditionalism of Maurras.

CHRISTIAN GAUSS

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*Spanish Drama before Lope de Vega. A Revised Edition.* By J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937. Pp. 211.

The original edition of this work, published in 1922, replacing in the hands of all students of pre-Lopian drama in Spain the already antequated treatments of the subject by Schack, Moratín, Creizenach, etc., at once became both a guide and a stimulus for further investigations resulting, on the one hand, in a number of studies of special aspects of the subject (special genres, special technical features, staging, versification) and, on the other hand, in the publication or re-publication of a large number of not readily accessible texts and a few newly discovered pieces. It is not surprising that a great share of what has been accomplished in the past fifteen years has been done by American scholars, Professor Crawford himself having continued to make valuable contributions in the form of articles and of guidance to students. The results of all this activity needed, of course, to be incorporated in the manual, and it would seem to be this consideration, much more than the mere fact that the book had been out of print for several years, that warranted putting out a revised edition.

The short second paragraph of the preface is a modest understatement of the great amount of work and pains which Crawford has put into the preparation of the new edition. The original plan of the work, with slight modifications of two of the chapter headings, has been preserved. A page for page comparison of the two editions reveals that there is scarcely a paragraph that has not either undergone extensive revision or been refurbished in one way or another, however slight. In the light of recent investigations and discoveries, many conjectures are now put down as facts ("probably" and the like frequently removed), while on the other hand there are a few instances where doubt is now admitted, though on controversial points Crawford has usually stuck to his guns. Dramatic literature in the Catalan, Valencian and Portuguese languages, intentionally slighted as far as possible in the first edition, now receives greater attention, as does the important question of versification. Biographical material, even when the facts are few, has been added in many cases. The treatment of the outstanding representatives of the entire period (Juan del Encina, Lucas Fernández, Gil Vicente, Torres Naharro, Lope de Rueda) has been expanded. In a number of cases, the discussion of the work of a given author has been transferred from one chapter to one to which it more appropriately belongs. In spite of these numerous additions and expanded discussions, the main body of the new book, which has the same format as the older one, has only fourteen more pages than that of the original edition, thanks to a great deal of shortening of phraseology, occasional merging of

paragraphs, and the suppression here and there of unprovable conclusions, all resulting in greater precision.

The footnotes of the original edition (*i. e.*, such of them as it has been deemed advisable to retain) have been collected and added to in a section entitled "Notes" (chapter by chapter) immediately after the main part of the book—perhaps not quite so convenient, but much more attractively presented. The appendix, with its sub-title "Bibliography," of the old edition now appears as a "Selective Bibliography," divided into "I. General" and "II. Individual Dramatists and Anonymous Plays." Rather than selective, the second part appears to be, at least from the point of view of standard and critical editions cited, well-nigh complete, and with its alphabetical arrangement is a far more usable tool than that represented by the system adopted in the first edition. Improvements have likewise been introduced in the index.

The present reviewer has found few specific points to question or errors to correct. On p. 9, the first year of the period covered by the *Crónica del Condestable Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* is given as 1450; in the first edition of Crawford's book, this date is 1459; Foulché-Delbosc & Barrau-Dihigo (*Manuel de l'hispanisant*, II, p. 208) gives 1458. Is '1450' in the new edition a misprint for one of the other two dates mentioned? On p. 21, the statement that Encina's *Égloga de tres pastores* presents the first treatment of the theme of the relative virtues and imperfections of women should be qualified by a phrase limiting this claim to dramatic literature in Spain. In the last paragraph of p. 32, which at first sight may leave the reader slightly confused as to whether it was the first eclogue of Encina or the second that was chiefly drawn on by Fernández for his *Égloga o Farsa del Nacimiento de nuestro Redemptor Jesucristo*, the authority of Meredith does not seem to be cited quite accurately: should not 'first eclogue' in the fifth line of the paragraph read 'first two eclogues' (Meredith, p. 16)? There are a few minor slips which should have been detected in the proof reading: p. 15, l. 12, before 'is' insert 'and'; p. 80, in the quotation from Gillet, l. 12, for 'well be' read 'well may be'; p. 177, l. 11, for 'Isabela' read 'Isabel.'

At the end of the main part of his book Crawford fixes the close of the period covered by him around the year 1587 and concurs with Marcel Bataillon in the suspicion that we may never be able to fill in what appears to be a gap between the precursors of Lope de Vega and Lope himself. In this, admirers of the genius of Lope, made thoroughly familiar by Crawford's book with just what Spanish drama had been down to approximately the date just mentioned, will be inclined to find one more confirmation of the oft-repeated statement that the classical Spanish drama is virtually Lope's creation.

H. C. HEATON

*New York University*

*Le Jocelyn de Lamartine, étude historique et critique avec des documents inédits.* Par. HENRI GUILLEMIN. Paris: Boivin, 1936. Pp. 858.

Lamartine's poem, although thoroughly studied, is used as a beacon to throw light on a chaotic epoch (1830-40) as the author intended when he wrote in his preface: "D'une telle enquête peut sortir une contribution efficace à la connaissance d'un homme, et d'un temps." I should also add "d'une œuvre." The book is composed along conventional lines: 1. Reconstitution of the composition of the poem (cf. particularly the condensation, p. 50, which should be called, I think, *tableau de la composition* rather than *tableau de la genèse de Jocelyn*); 2. The "milieu" (a penetrating study of the literary, philosophical, historical, religious and social ideas); 3. The sources of *Jocelyn* (personal experience as well as indigenous and foreign book sources); 4. The work and its fate (Lamartine's artistic contribution, the success of his book, its message). I grant that M. G. probably knows Lamartine better than any man alive; that his book in no way lacks copious accurate references and learned commentaries, and that his is a work to which every scholar interested in the early years of the nineteenth century shall have to refer. I fundamentally disagree, however, with M. G.'s method which serves to bury a literary piece under a heap of notes.

It is natural that such a lengthy, composite and artificial poem as *Jocelyn*, whose inception dates from Lamartine's youth and whose termination is accomplished in maturity, should reflect both the muddled milieu the poet was conscious of in his middle years as well as the results of the readings of his youth. M. G. attempted a delineation in sections 2 and 3 which suffers unfortunately from unwieldiness due to an anxiety not to sacrifice any notes. Two examples will suffice. I see no purpose, for instance, in the argument for Quinet's "apport" which leads to the negative conclusion: "Non ce n'est pas dans l'œuvre de Quinet que Lamartine a puisé les articles de sa foi nouvelle." Nor do I see any purpose in the lengthy discussion to determine the identity of Laurence in Lamartine's life which leads to the conclusion that she is an "image de rêve" and then to a contradiction, because Laurence is really the usual type of sixteen year old girl found in many a book. On the other hand in an exemplary piece of historical research M. G. explodes the Dumont legend. In a conclusion to parts 2 and 3 the reader would have been happy to find a recapitulation in which the wheat would have been sifted from the chaff. M. G. compares Lamartine's poem to a river fed by innumerable tributaries; it might have been interesting in a conclusion to draw attention to the size of these tributaries; some of these are muddy as well and I am not sure that they are entirely purified by the river. Criticism,

unfortunately, follows a fashion. In the last few years it has become the custom to rehabilitate authors and their writings. M. G., with all sincerity, holds an appreciation for *Jocelyn* which I cannot totally share. Lamartine is incapable of "une œuvre de longue haleine"; *grosso modo* he is unable to shake off traditional shackles and blaze a trail. *Jocelyn* takes rank with the best modern epic poems in the French language, but that is not saying much.

The message or messages of *Jocelyn* will always be a matter of speculation. I doubt, however, that one of the messages of a poem that has been incubating for a long time could be explained as "reprise du mouvement intérieur de jeunesse." The obvious message is resignation in a higher sense, but also resignation of a weak escapist which must be taken into account:

Et puis la vie est lourde, et dur est le voyage:  
Il vaut mieux la porter seule et sans ce bagage  
De chaînes, de fardeaux, de soins, d'ambitions . . .

*Jocelyn* is an escapist from the responsibilities of the layman, an escapist from persecution, love, and even from life: there is no solace in the performance of his duty, he is caught in a vice, his final hope is escape through death:

Prévoirait-il ma mort? . . . Ah! si c'était demain!

M. G.'s meritorious study speaks for itself, in no way do I wish to detract from its great importance. I am old fashioned enough, however, to believe that Lanson's critical edition of the *Méditations* is exemplary and that we need M. G.'s authoritative critical edition of *Jocelyn*.

EMILE MALAKIS

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*Introduction à l'Œuvre de Charles De Coster.* Par LÉON-LOUIS SOSSET. Académie Royale de Langue et de Littérature françaises de Belgique. *Mémoires.* Tome XIII. Liége: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1937. Pp. 200.

"Je suis de ceux qui savent attendre." Time has justified this proud declaration of Charles De Coster, for the last decade has produced two solid studies of his work: Joseph Hanse's *Charles De Coster* (see *MLN.*, Jan., 1930), and the monograph under consideration. The two critics are in essential agreement in their judgments. M. Sosset reserves biographical data for a later study and begins with a survey of representative early compositions of the novelist. These have small value in themselves but reveal traits appearing in the mature works besides untiring effort to-

ward artistic perfection. The archaic style of his first masterpiece, *Les Légendes Flamandes*, was adopted as alone suited to suggest in French the color of Flemish temperament and themes, and to react against the insipid manner of his contemporaries. S. analyses this style, first in *Les Légendes*, later in *Ulenspiegel*, where it is handled with greater mastery. Half the volume is devoted to the latter work. His purpose, like that of Hanse, is to defend the unity of the novel, superficially compromised by its complexity.

*La Légende d'Ulenspiegel . . . est faite d'une multitude d'incidents dont le fourmillement et la variété donnent une impression de vie très intense. C'est une cohue de personnages, le microcosme de tout un peuple, du prince jusqu'au manant. C'est une fresque majestueuse, toute frémissante d'essors lyriques, dessinée sur le fond houleux des perspectives du temps.*

As guides across the labyrinth, S. follows the principal characters, whose psychology is revealed entirely by action; thus the plot is dramatically summarized and its homogeneity made clear. De Coster declares that he took *Ulenspiegel* for hero, "afin d'avoir un personnage populaire flamand qui pût fournir une course historique, satirique, pittoresque et humoristique à travers le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle." In examining the sources of the novelist, S. shows great caution; he speaks of his "connaissances encyclopédiques," but would limit specific influences to those mentioned by De Coster himself, notably popular tradition and historical chronicles like Van Meteren's *Histoire des Pays-Bas*. The one "source accessoire" proposed by S.—a bit of dialogue from *Le Pédant Joué*—is hardly convincing. He is more happily inspired when he studies the interest of De Coster in artists of the brush. This is not new, but S. has pointed to specific painters, both old and contemporary. De Coster always possessed the vision of the plastic artists and rivals them in truculent scenes of debauchery, grotesqueness, and torture, as well as in landscape.

Writing for the general public, S. avoids the accumulation of foot-notes and states his main obligations in a bibliography. He acknowledges special assistance from Hanse among others. A careful comparison of the two monographs offers convincing proof of the reality of his debt. He has undoubtedly made a thorough and independent examination of the documents, but his findings and occasionally his phraseology are strikingly similar to those of his predecessor. Hanse wrote primarily for scholars, Sosset would appeal to a wider audience and bring to the many an intelligent appreciation of Belgium's "Prince of novelists."

BENJ. M. WOODBRIDGE

Reed College

*Man and Beast in French Thought of the Eighteenth Century.* By HESTER HASTINGS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936. Pp. 297. \$1.25. (J. H. Studies in Romance L. and L.)

Molière's remark in the Prologue to *Amphitryon*<sup>1</sup> that "les bêtes ne sont pas si bêtes que l'on pense" might well have appeared upon the title-page of many an eighteenth-century work, as it did—and Miss Hastings has noted it (p. 107)—upon that of La Mettrie's *Les Animaux plus que machines*. Miss Hastings's thorough-going, judicious, and carefully documented study shows how large the question of the relation of man and animal bulks in this period. It led to philosophical and moral discussion of great importance.

Are animals mere machines, as Descartes had suggested? (p. 13). Are they consequently insensitive to pain? If so, there can be no problem of cruelty in man's treatment of them. But, on the other hand, "after the middle of the eighteenth century only a few individuals doubt that beasts feel and have a spiritual principle" (p. 59). This leads to "concern for brute sufferings" (p. 63) and consequently to increasing condemnation of cruelty.

Moreover many writers seemed impressed by what appeared to be the infallibility of animal instinct in comparison with man's faltering reason. These "theriophilists," the animal lovers, should not be taken too literally, not more literally than they meant to be. D'Holbach, for example, suggests Miss Hastings (p. 138), certainly did not really think animals equal to man. But such an attitude offered a convenient means of attacking man's vanity and self-complacency (p. 94), just as did the vogue of primitivism and the "extraordinary voyage."

Then too there was the question of man and the great apes, a question raised by Rousseau in his Second Discourse, but likewise by many predecessors before him. "The eighteenth-century philosophers," observes Miss Hastings (p. 132), "may be said to out-Darwin Darwin." Vegetarianism came to be discussed also, primarily on moral grounds (p. 246). Finally, in 1803, Lavallée "marks the beginning of the serious agitation for laws controlling the treatment of animals which was to end only in 1850 with the first bit of legislation, the *Loi Grammont*" (p. 276). Thus again the eighteenth century appears as a keenly active period in the history of thought, preparing the way for modern interest in animals and concern for their welfare.

GEORGE R. HAVENS

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<sup>1</sup> For locating this passage in Molière, I am much indebted to my colleague, Professor Robert E. Rockwood.

*A History of Old French Literature.* By URBAN TIGNER HOLMES, JR. New York: Crofts, 1937. Pp. xii + 350. \$4.00.

This history traces the growth of Old French literature from its origin to 1300 and will be followed probably by a companion volume which will carry it two centuries forward. It represents the first attempt in English to undertake a comprehensive survey of the literary output of mediaeval France. Its most distinctive aspect is the author's special method of approach. It is not a *vade-mecum* superseding all its predecessors, but a work of reference indispensable to readers except, of course, in their own field of special interest. It deserves to be recommended highly not only as a reference guide but also as a text-book for graduate courses. It augurs well for the future of Old French scholarship in this country, particularly so when one notes the many teachers in the South-East who have been trained by Holmes.

The author presents, with due acknowledgment, the conflicting hypotheses that have been advanced on the moot problems of Old French literature (with special emphasis on American scholarship because European colleagues are still awaiting a Columbus to chart that *terra incognita*), but he does not straddle the fence! Either he makes a decision in support of one of the postulates or, at times, he rejects all of them in favor of an original idea. The work offers a wealth of data presented in a practical and lucid form. It traces the literary evolution of mediaeval France in its main currents, skimming swiftly over the surface when the tide is at low ebb but sounding the depth at every crest: the *chansons de geste*, *matière de Rome*, *matière de Bretagne*, chronicles, *Tristan*, *contes*, *lais*, *fabliaux*, *fables*, *Roman de Renart*, *Roman de la Rose*, drama, hagiology, grail cycle, lyrics, didactic treatises. One finds careful summaries of the outstanding literary productions of the period, with an index that is virtually complete. Holmes strives to make the bibliographies appropriate and up to date. Unfortunately one must look for them in four places for each chapter; I think that it would be more convenient, both for the student who seldom intends to do any collateral reading and for the instructor who prefers to keep together all the references on the same subject, to add all the titles as running footnotes. The effort to keep abreast of current research is comparatively successful, but several editorial contributions are not recorded here nor in kindred bibliographies:

P. 3 Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine . . .*, Paris, 1937; p. 42 *Li Livres des Machabees*: E. Goerlich, Halle, 1888; p. 181 Robert de Rains: W. Mann, Halle, 1898; p. 235 *Vie St. Angneys*: A. J. Denomy, *Harvard Studies Notes Phil. Lit.*, xvi (1934), 51, and his *Old French Lives of Saint Agnes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1937); p. 236 *Visio St. Pauli*: T. Silverstein, London, 1935; p. 239 *Consolatio philosophiae*: H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand, London, 1936; p. 245 *Les Instituts de Justinien*: F. Olivier-Martin, Paris, 1935; p. 271 *De Groingnet et de Petit*: D. L.

Buffum, *Romania*, LIII (1927), 558; p. 314 *La Disputoison du juif et du chrestien*: H. Pflaum, *Tarbiz*, II No. 4 (Jerusalem, 1931); p. 316 *La Disputoison de la sinagogue et de sainte eglise*: H. Pflaum, *Die Religiöse Disputation in der europäischen Dichtung des M. A.*, I (Florence, 1935), 92; p. 320 H. Omont, *Fabliaux, dits et contes . . . fac-similé du ms. fran. 837 de la Bibl. Nat.*, Paris, 1932.

RAPHAEL LEVY

*University of Baltimore*

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*The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers: A Middle English Version by Stephen Scrope.* Ed. by MARGARET E. SCHOFIELD. U. of Penn. Diss., 1936. Pp. ii + 222.

Of the two works which can definitely be ascribed to Stephen Scrope (1396-7[?]-1472), the *Epistle of Othea to Hector*, a translation of a French work on chivalry, was edited by George Warner in 1904. Miss Schofield now provides us with an edition of the *Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers*. The *Dicts* is a collection of aphorisms arranged according to the various "philosophers," real and imaginary, to whom they are spuriously ascribed. This Arabic compilation of the eleventh century was brought into the western world by the Moors, translated into Latin, then into French by Guillaume de Tigonville, 1402. Scrope's version is a literal translation of Guillaume's made in 1450. Rivers' incomplete translation, which is much better known because it is the first dated book printed in English (1477), is quite clearly a direct translation of Guillaume owing nothing to Scrope.

The text, which is based upon the best of six extant manuscripts together with a list of the significant variants in the other five, is apparently accurate.

The Introduction handles adequately the problems of authorship, date, manuscripts, and transmission of text. A large portion of it is devoted to tracing the fortunes of the Scrope family and the misfortunes of Stephen. Unfortunately but necessarily, this is dull stuff. For the only items of interest which rewarded Miss Schofield for her careful and exhaustive combing of contemporary documents are the following facts: Stephen's grandfather was the Sir Richard Scrope (or Lescrope) who had sufficient foresight to bring suit against Sir Robert Grosvenor, thus providing Chaucer with a chance to be vague about his birthday. Stephen's stepfather was the Sir John Fastolf whose name Shakespeare borrowed and changed and immortalized. Other than this, the account gives us little more than a dreary succession of Stephen's law suits and complaints, inspired by the penury in which Fastolf kept him, together with some inconclusive evidence as to whom and when Stephen married. But for this Miss Schofield is not to be blamed; indeed,

she deserves high praise for finding and sticking to the facts and in providing us with this first account of Stephen Scrope's life.

Not so commendable, however, is the discussion of the language, to which but two pages are devoted. It is hardly sufficient to indicate only that the text is basically East Midl. with a sprinkling of South. and S. W. forms (and *wol* for *will* ought not be explained thus). A fuller treatment, touching at least the high spots of phonology and morphology, is expected of an editor of a ME. text.

NORMAN E. ELIASON

*University of Florida*

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*Art and Prudence: A Study in Practical Philosophy.* By MORTIMER J. ADLER. New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1937. Pp. xiv + 686. \$5.00.

To present a short review of Mr. Adler's *Art and Prudence* is no easy task, for its theme, the present-day film and its position in our society, is linked up by the author with such a vast background that no brief statement can do justice to the scope of the volume. Some indication of its variety may be given by saying that the book starts with an excellent analysis of the attitudes towards art taken by Plato and Aristotle respectively; proceeds thence to a consideration of art in Christian philosophy and in democratic thought; discusses "the motion picture as popular poetry"; presents varying judgments relating to the influence of the film upon society and upon individuals; and concludes with an examination of the aesthetics of the motion picture—with a total of nearly three hundred thousand words.

Perhaps our first reaction to the work is that it includes too much. True, Mr. Adler, in his preface, emphasizes that "in the field of practical philosophy there is always the general problem and the special case" and that in this book he has "tried to be practically wise about a difficult practical problem," but he has not added to the clarity of his presentation by permitting so much to enter into his discussion. A great many details might, it would seem, have been dispensed with, and some might have been the better of checking. We receive a considerable shock, for example, when, on page 75, we read that

Addison in *The Spectator* looked askance at the fiction of Smollett and Fielding; *Tom Jones* and *Tristram Shandy* were accused of improprieties and of being corrupting influences. Fielding was not thus to be deterred by the censors of *The Spectator*; he answered more definitely than Dryden and Congreve had answered Collier.

It might be argued, too, that one entire section of the book does not specifically belong to its general subject. The last portion,

"Cinematics," contains much of value. In spite of many exceedingly debatable generalisations, this is one of the best and most logical discussions so far contributed on the nature of the film and on its relationship to novel and drama. There may be disagreement on this point or on that, but unquestionably Mr. Adler has here achieved an excellent survey of the field. Yet we may well ask what significance this section has in a book which professedly sets out to discuss the question of art and prudence. Interesting in itself, it appears essentially separate in its theme, forming, as it were, a volume within a volume. To assess Plato's attitude towards the dramatists of his day we do not need to know, or knowing to consider, how the plays were presented or what precisely were their connections with the epic, and similarly in our own days opinions concerning the influence of the films on human behaviour do not demand any elaborate examination of close-ups and of montage.

Mr. Adler has, in *Art and Prudence*, made a distinct contribution to a difficult subject but it is to be feared that his aims in "practical philosophy" will not have been assisted by the manner in which he has presented the material.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

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#### BRIEF MENTION

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*The History of the English Novel. Volume VIII, From the Brontës to Meredith: Romanticism in the English Novel.* By ERNEST A. BAKER. London: Witherby. 1937. Pp. 411. This volume brings the *History* up to the present century, with a major Victorian, Hardy, still to come. An almost inevitable difficulty in planning a literary history is illustrated by the title of this volume in relation to its predecessor, *The Age of Dickens and Thackeray*: barring Eliot and Meredith in their later work, the novelists of VIII belong chronologically in the period of VII. A further source of confusion lies in the subtitle; Trollope cannot be made to fit into this classification, and much of Eliot's and Gaskell's work presents the same objection. "Romantic Realists" might more precisely describe the group; but is a subtitle necessary? Again inevitably, there are inconsistencies in critical statements. For example, viewing the Brontës from the angle of Wordsworthian romanticism which "dares to speak for the soul" (p. 19), Mr. Baker sees in their novels "living souls, perhaps the first since Shakespeare's" (p. 69), forgetting what he, himself, has said of Clarissa (iv, 44, 49). Moreover, proportions seem illogical. Is Edgeworth (vi) deserving of twice the space allotted here to Gaskell? And, if with Trollope "the art of fiction stood still" (p. 157), why pay

so much attention to his less important novels? Finally, the reviewer must object to the discussion of Gaskell, particularly where it touches Eliot, which is not done with Mr. Baker's habitual sympathy. Enthusiasm for Eliot, as a bringer of philosophy to the novel, "without, however, sacrificing any of the creative and dramatic qualities" belonging to the genre (pp. 221, 233)—a curious misapprehension—blinds him to the significance of Gaskell's position among the social reform novelists and to the fact that her art improved in successive novels, whereas Eliot's deteriorated. Space does not permit citations to show that merits emphasized as Eliot's particular contribution belong equally to Gaskell and that faults condemned in the latter are sometimes palliated in the former. It has not been here and perhaps should not be the historian's part to undertake a revaluation of writers, but the discussion of Gaskell shows that a revaluation is in order. Generally, however, his estimates are fair, the most interpretative chapters being on the Brontës, Trollope, and Meredith. The work has become an encyclopedia, impressive in scope, and rich in factual and critical detail.

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

*Goucher College*

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*Poetry in Prose.* By WALTER DE LA MARE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. 85. \$1.25. (Proceedings of the British Academy, 21.) The title of this short work has been carefully chosen. For Mr. de la Mare does not mean to write of that dubious and dreamlike prose that is commonly called prose-poetry: De Quincey's, Chateaubriand's, and some of Poe's; but rather to explore what there may be in *good* and *pure* prose of the same form, the same impulse, and the same effect that make poetry what it is. It is "the imaginative state of mind," he thinks, that makes both good prose and good poetry, and to be capable of that is the sign of the poetic nature, whether one writes in prose or verse. Defoe, for instance, proved that he was a poet when he wrote *Robinson Crusoe*; and one of the best pages in Mr. de la Mare's book is devoted to a study of Swift,—to a meditation, rather, on the contrast between his bitter rages and the "limpid and musical prose" in which they are set, "like circling vultures against the harmless blue of the sky."

Some readers may think that 'musical' here is a question-begging term. Its music, they will say, is just that which always separates good poetry from good prose. Not so Mr. de la Mare, however. He reminds us of the sound rule, laid down by Cicero, that the cadences of prose should never be those of verse; yet, "on the other hand," he says, "one of the most guilefully persuasive and natural-seeming kinds of prose is that which is perpetually

evading, and only just evading, the peril of quietly tumbling into metre. The problem is by a hair's breadth to escape doing so." And he believes, as many passages show, in a 'natural' rhythm, operant before and without the aid of an imposed pattern: a dubious doctrine, some theorists must insist, and the parent of prosodic error.

Mr. de la Mare, in short, is a Romantic in criticism, as he is in his poetry and his prose fiction. In his historical survey he passes very lightly over prosaists of 'the age of prose' except Swift, but is eloquent in praise and copious in quotation when he writes of Elizabethans, great and small. It is hardly necessary to add that he says a number of things finely, and some exquisitely.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

*Masters of French Literature.* By HORATIO SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937. This volume contains six biographical and critical essays on Molière, Racine, Voltaire, Rousseau, Hugo and Balzac. The choice of these representative writers enables the intelligent reader to grasp the significant tendencies of French literature during the three modern centuries. Professor Smith's treatment of his authors is thoroughly conservative, and in presence of diverging interpretations of literary problems he adheres to reason and common sense, which makes the book a safe guide. In presence of so many sloppy treatments of modern literature by superficial modernists, intent either on disparaging the past or on proclaiming precocious views, it is refreshing to record a book that, as this one does, intelligently correlates the past and the present. The author knows about Erskine Caldwell, Sherwood Anderson and Virginia Woolf as well as René Benjamin and Gide, when he discusses French writers of the past. His conservatism cannot, therefore, be taxed with narrowmindedness. This ability to correlate past and present will be one of the advantages of the book to the general reader, for whom it seems primarily intended. Professor Smith shows, in his separate essays, how each individual master, though the product of his age, transcends its limits, and thus wins immortality. Molière and Racine are not merely "Louis XIV balance" or narrow seventeenth-century taste, but timeless. The complexities of Voltaire and the bewildering alternations of Rousseau are sensibly interpreted. The contrasts of Hugo show him to be himself the incarnation of those antitheses of grotesque and sublime that he saw in life. The buffoonish side of his character is redeemed by the "discreet taste" of some of his poetry. Balzac, like Molière, escapes the limitations of his own formula, so that no nineteenth-century author is more admired to-day. This book shows that "academic" criticism can

hold its own against the blurb style of much modern American reviewing. Professor Smith is so thoroughly steeped in literature that he has neglected to keep up with the geography of modern Scandinavia: "Stockholm" (p. 139) has not become "Omslo."

C. H. C. WRIGHT

*Harvard University*

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*Gabriele Rossetti in England.* By E. R. VINCENT. Oxford: The Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford University Press], 1936. Pp. viii, 199. \$4.50. Professor Vincent's original aim was to meet the need for a biography of Gabriele Rossetti as a figure entitled to a better fate than to be treated merely as the father of his gifted children. After he had collected his material, Mr. E. R. Waller published *The Rossetti Family, 1824-1854* (Manchester, 1932), which contains as full a treatment of Gabriele's life and character as they deserve, drawn from much the same sources. Generously acknowledging Mr. Waller's achievement, Professor Vincent has focused his study on Rossetti as an Italian exile and as a critic of Dante.

In dealing with Rossetti as a critic and poet Professor Vincent goes far beyond Mr. Waller. He has courageously attacked the monstrous corpus of Rossetti's commentaries on Dante and the literature of the Middle Ages, searched out its basic theories, and tracked them to their sources in Rossetti's character and experience and in the books and correspondence in which Rossetti found nourishment for their fantastic growth. Professor Vincent feels that he has put an end to a chimera, dangerous because it had never been dragged out of its cave. Certainly no self-respecting scholar will hereafter fall into Mr. Waller's error of thinking that because Rossetti's basic theory has been warmed into life by some recent commentators, it adds to the intellectual credit of its author. Professor Vincent correctly treats it as biographical material and by skilful use of it makes a valuable addition to the biography of Rossetti.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD

*The Johns Hopkins University*

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*Mediaeval Artes Praedicandi: A Hand-List.* By HARRY CAPLAN. Ithaca, New York, 1934. Pp. 52. *A Supplementary Hand-List*, 1936. Pp. 36. Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, 24, 25. Few medievalists, apparently, realize how little is actually known today concerning the technique of the medieval sermon. In these two little volumes Professor Caplan lists some 250 medieval tracts on sermon making, of which between half a dozen and a dozen are

now readily accessible to modern readers. In a very stimulating essay, "Michel Menot et la technique du sermon médiéval," *Revue franciscaine*, II (1925), 299 ff., Etienne Gilson has made it abundantly clear that medieval sermons cannot be understood without considerable knowledge of the medieval theories of their composition. Yet, important as sermons are to the historian of medieval literature or life, the study of their construction has not received the attention it deserves. These volumes, the second of which contains corrections of and additions to the first, are obviously the fruit of intelligent and painstaking labor. They list the incipits of all the tracts on sermon making which C. has been able to discover, and the exemplars of each work so listed. Such a catalogue is the necessary first step in the mastery by modern scholarship of the facts concerning medieval sermon theory. C. does not claim that his lists even now are exhaustive, or that he has seen all the manuscripts with which he deals. Doubtless, as he intimates in his introduction, he sometimes erroneously lists the same tract under different incipits and different tracts under the same incipit. He has intended these books as only a tentative but necessary check-list. To make them more would require many additional years of labor; and there is no reason why the scholarly world should not be allowed to make use now of what C. has thus far accomplished. To the student of medieval rhetoric and to the specialist in the field of medieval preaching this list is of very great value. The next step should be the editing of a reasonable number of the tracts.

WOODBURN O. ROSS

Wayne University

*The Prose Works of Alexander Pope.* Vol. I. The Earlier Works, 1711-1720. Newly collected and edited by NORMAN AULT. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1936. Pp. cxxvii + 326. 30 sh. Ault's edition, which excludes Pope's correspondence and—presumably—the commentaries on the *Iliad*, will be completed by a second volume. The editor's interest, as those who have followed his earlier work on Pope and on English lyrics will know, centers upon the discovery of *inédits* and the attribution of anonymous or ambiguously assigned publications to their author. Assiduous in the assembling of external and internal evidence, adroit in cumulative argument, Ault needs to be checked by the more cautious scholarship of Professor Sherburn. It is a matter for regret that Ault has put together, in his text, essays and pamphlets for which, according to his own estimate in the introduction, the authority varies: papers attributable to Pope only with "probability" or "much probability" should have been assigned to an appendix.

Perhaps the most important section of the commentary is that

which discusses Pope's contributions to the *Spectator* (xxiii—lv). Even after Ault's brilliant investigation, mystery clouds this subject. One can readily comprehend why Pope would not acknowledge *The Critical Specimen* or the three lampoons against Curn; but why should Pope not have reprinted, along with his *Guardians*, the perfectly innocuous *Spectators* which are now collected? And what is the meaning of Steele's valedictory acknowledgment of Pope's assistance? Letters in nos. 406 and 527 are demonstrably Pope's. The ten 'Z' papers present the real puzzle; and Ault assembles parallel passages, apposite in varying degrees, to establish the attribution of seven of them to Pope. I find the evidence most plausible for nos. 224, 292, 316, 408, and 467.

The Shakespeare Head Press has provided very handsome paper, typography, and binding.

AUSTIN WARREN

*Boston University*

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*Edmund Spenser, A Bibliographical Supplement.* By DOROTHY F. ATKINSON. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi + 244. \$3.00. This volume is welcome as a badly needed supplement to the late F. I. Carpenter's *A Reference Guide to Edmund Spenser* (1923). Miss Atkinson follows in her arrangement Carpenter's grouping of titles and she includes many items overlooked in his and Miss Alice Parrott's bibliographies. In her ambition to make her work complete, she has entered not only reviews of books listed but unpublished dissertations and even seminar reports. We shall not be surprised by her 220 pages of titles if we remember the remark in her foreword that "it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the *Spenseriana* published since 1923 equals in volume all that had hitherto been printed on the subject." Even so, one misses in her very valuable bibliography a title here and there. For example, the reviewer finds no mention of Morton Luce's *Man and Nature*, the fifth chapter of which bears the title, "Spenser and Shakespeare. A New Investigation"; nor of an article in the *London Bookman* for December, 1932, on "Spenser's Portrait"; nor of Huntington Brown's "Classical Tradition in English Literature: A Bibliography" (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, Vol. xviii). In his *Istoria Literaturilor Romanice*, II, 239 ff., N. Jorga undertakes to assess the foreign influence on the *Fairy Queen*. For further omissions Dr. Friedlander's review in *JEGP*. (January, 1938) should be consulted.

H. S. V. JONES

*The University of Illinois*

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*Die Altfranzösische Berthasage und das Volksmärchen.* Von ADOLF MEMMER. Halle: Niemeyer, 1935. Pp. xvi + 245. Romanistische Arbeiten XXV. 9 RM. It is Memmer's contention that a widespread folk-tale of Germanic origin (das Märchen von der Gänsemagd) was brought by the Franks into France; that there historical characters were introduced into the story (Pepin, Berthe, etc.); that this Bertha saga then had a two-fold development, one type (Vorepos I) giving rise to the later German versions, the other type (Vorepos II) to the later French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch versions. Although the volume contains much hypothetical and debatable material (considered "erwiesen und unbestreitbar" by the author), although it devotes an inordinate amount of space to the goose-girl tale and to analyzing the contents of various readily accessible narratives about Bertha, although it superfluously assumes two "Vorepen" to account for the absence of those elements of the Romance and Dutch versions which do not appear in the admittedly derivative German versions, and although it inexplicably places the fourteenth century *Miracles de Notre Dame* in the fifteenth, nevertheless this is the best and fullest exposition of the subject available and will undoubtedly prove useful despite its controversial conclusions.

G. F.

Johns Hopkins University

*Diderot's Writings on the Theatre*, edited by F. C. GREEN. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1936. Pp. vii + 317. In chronological order Mr. G. has given in unabridged form D's theories on all that concerns the art of the theatre. The selections are preceded by an accurate biographical sketch. Mr. G. has included: 1. *Entretiens sur le Fils naturel*; 2. *De la poésie dramatique*; 3. An extract from *Les Bijoux indiscrets*; 4. *Observations sur Garrick ou les Acteurs Anglais*; 5. Extracts from letters to Mlle Jodin; 6. *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*. Since the selections were available only in the Assézat and Tourneux edition, this collection serves a purpose. It would have been rendered valuable had Mr. G. included references to critical articles and had added critical comments.

E. M.

*Citizen of Geneva, Selections from the Letters of Jean Jacques Rousseau*, by CHARLES WILLIAM HENDEL. New York, London, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xi + 405. The author of a valuable study, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: Moralist*, attempts to provide in one volume of translations "a gleanings of the best letters of R. for those who are not special students of

French but who are interested in R." Mr. H. excludes material relating to the unhappy events in R.'s life, but he compensates for this exclusion in his thorough and compact introduction, where he recounts the vicissitudes of R.'s life as well as the reaction to his writings. The index to letters translated in whole or in part is rather misleading for vol. I, as I find often references but no translations. I must admit that I do not understand the purpose of this translation. Is it to acquaint the reader with R.'s heterogeneous interests? Certainly there are not sufficient explanations of personalities involved even for students not particularly acquainted with R. Specifically what is the purpose of letters 1527 and 1553, where R. speaks of the wedding present sent to Mlle d'Ivernois and the silk of all colours he asks Mme Boy de la Tour to send him? Are they a "gleaning of the best letters of R.?" The choice is made helter-skelter and arranged in chronological order. Would not discarding the chronological order, with proper references, and the adoption of a topical order (R.'s sociological ideas, R.'s literary ideas, etc) have been better? It would have, it seems to me, killed two birds with one stone and given the reader real meat.

E. M.

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*Eleanor of Aquitaine: Queen of the Troubadours and of the Courts of Love.* By MICHEL V. ROSENBERG. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1937. Pp. 296. \$3.50. Though Mr. Rosenberg's biography of Eleanor of Aquitaine is chiefly intended for the general reader, it may also be read profitably by students of medieval literature, particularly those who are just beginning their studies. Chapter VI, "The Queen and the Troubadour," chapter VII, "The Royal Court of Love," and chapter VIII, "Judgments of Love," are readable and informative discussions, even though the first is weakened by such an observation as (p. 158), "It is significant that the complexity of their [i. e., the troubadours'] rhyme schemes is paralleled by the poverty of their imaginations and the gelding of their descriptive faculties," and in spite of the fact that the second would lead the casual reader to believe that Henry II's failure at the siege of Toulouse was the principal reason for Eleanor's sponsoring the Courts of Love. The third chapter mentioned, however, is of real value because it provides a readable general summary of the *De Amore* of Andreas Capellanus. The book is entirely undocumented except for a select bibliography of one hundred titles, presumably chosen for the general reader who has little or no acquaintance with foreign languages; though, if this is the case, one may well wonder at the presence of Trojel's *Middelalderens Elskovshoffer!* Specialists in medieval literature will continue to order their ideas about courtly love from the extensive scholarly literature

devoted to the subject; others will find Mr. Rosenberg's study of Eleanor a pleasant introduction to a fascinating topic.

THOMAS A. KIRBY

*The Louisiana State University*

*The Man in the Moone*, 1638, and *Nuncius Inanimatus*, 1629. [By BISHOP FRANCIS GODWIN.] Reprinted, with introductions and notes, by GRANT MCCOLLEY. (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. xix, No. 1, October, 1937). Northampton, Massachusetts: Smith college. Pp. xiv + 78. The *Nuncius* has the English version of Dr. Thomas Smith in 1657 printed opposite the Latin original in the manner of the Loeb Library. As only one copy of each of these two books is known to exist, these reprints are a valuable addition to the materials now being made readily available to students of both the literary and the scientific history of England in the seventeenth century. *The Man in the Moone* is the prototype of the English romances that make literary use of the new scientific theories and discoveries, especially in astronomy. The secret of the *Nuncius Inanimatus* is still unsolved, but it hints at the possibilities of communication at great distances which not until the telephone, the telegraph, and the radio could be accomplished. It is a curiosity today, but its publication stimulated Godwin's younger contemporaries, George Hakewill and John Wilkins, to some interesting speculations.

DOROTHY STIMSON

*Goucher College*

*Two Pamphlets of Nicholas Breton; Grimellos Fortunes (1604), An olde Mans Lesson (1605).* Edited with an Introduction and Notes by E. G. MORICE. Bristol: published for the University of Bristol by J. W. Hammersmith, 1936. Pp. 127. 5 s. Two scarce pamphlets of no great literary merit, but of some value to the social historian, have been accurately reprinted. The first dialogue describes the difficulties of an upright young university graduate who, after failing in various professions and vocations because of his scruples, finally becomes a servingman to an ideal master; the second discusses the value and dangers of the Grand Tour in the education of a young man. The editor in his brief introduction discusses the sources, chiefly folkloristic, of the dialogues, their themes, and their use of proverbs.

EDWIN E. WILLOUGHBY

*Folger Shakespeare Library*

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

## ENGLISH

[The *English* list includes only books received.]

**Broughton, Leslie Nathan.** — *Sara Coleridge and Henry Reed. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1937.* Pp. xviii + 117. \$1.50. (Cornell Studies in English, XXVII.)

**Browning, R.** — *Hommes et femmes; poèmes choisis; traduits avec une introduction par Louis Cazamian. Paris: Aubier, 1938.* Pp. 341 (69 pp. of introduction). 30 fr. (paper). (Collection bilingue des classiques étrangers.)

**Herford, C. H. and Percy and Evelyn Simpson.** — *Ben Jonson, VI: Bartholomew Fair, The Devil is an Ass, The Staple of News, The New Inn, The Magnetic Lady. Oxford: Clarendon Press [New York: Oxford U. Press], 1938.* Pp. xii + 597. \$7.00.

**Lohmann, Otto.** — *Die Sage von Gawain und dem Grünen Ritter. Königsberg (Pr.): Ost-Europa-Verlag, 1938.* Pp. iv + 100. RM. 3.80. ("Schriften der Albertus-Universität," Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe, 17.)

**MacIntyre, C. F. and Majl Ewing.** — *English prose of the romantic period. New York: Oxford U. Press, 1938.* Pp. xii + 362. \$2.35.

**Schumann, Hildegard.** — *John Keats und das romantische Bewusstsein. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter & Co., 1938.* Pp. 82. RM. 3. (Britannica, 14.)

**Stein, Elizabeth P.** — *David Garrick, dramatist. New York: Modern Language Association, 1938.* Pp. xx + 315. \$2.50. (MLA Revolving Fund Series, VII.)

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